THE HISTORY OF MARGARET of ANJOU.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF MARGARET of ANJOU, QUEEN of *ENGLAND*.

Tranſlated from the French of

The Abbe *PREVOST*.

In TWO VOLUMES.

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LONDON:
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M. DCC. LV.

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BOOK III.

EDWARD's marriage was one of thoſe proofs of the weakneſs of the human heart, and the power of the paſſions, which is apt to humble the mind, tho' it is diſcovered only in the examples of others; by convincing us to what an exceſs of blindneſs, the warmth of deſire is capable of carrying us, it produces a continual diſtruſt of that ſtrength which pride is apt to attribute to human reaſon. However, the violence of this prince's inclinations was ſeconded by the addreſs of two of the queen's miniſters. The duke of *Somerſet* having repaired to *Grafton*

caſtle, where *Elizabeth Grey* lived with her mother, was received with joy by two friends who intereſted themſelves in the misfortunes of his family, and had frequently deplored the calamities which he, in particular, had endured. He heightened their compaſſion by placing a falſe confidence in them; and reflecting on the queen's ingratitude, he ſpoke of his return as proceeding from a reſolution, which the barbarity of this princeſs, as well as his own wants and diſtreſs had obliged him to take. After the treaſon his brother had committed, there was a neceſſity for his thus preparing the way to ſecure himſelf from being ſuſpected by *Edward*, if by ſome unavoidable accident he ſhould not be able to eſcape being ſeen by that prince. But with *Elizabeth* his intention was only to engage her to open her mind to him on her amours, and this he propoſed to effect, by deſiring her to make uſe of the credit it was thought ſhe had with the king, in favour of an unfortunate man, who had great need of ſuch a powerful protectreſs. She naturally confeſſed that the king had felt very tender ſenſations in her favour; but that the firmneſs with which ſhe had reſiſted his ſollicitations, had apparently cured him of this weakneſs; and that he had not renewed his addreſſes ſince he had demanded the princeſs of *Savoy*

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in marriage. The duke appearing ſurprized to ſee her ſo cooly abandon her conqueſt, ſet before her eyes, all that ſhe herſelf had thought of *Edward*'s character. He accuſed her of having loſt a crown by an inexcuſable negligence, with reſpect to her own fortune and glory; and ſuddenly to put a ſtop to all the explications that might too long retard his enterprize, he maintained that it was ſo eaſy for her to become a queen, that even tho' ſhe had let ſlip the opportunity of doing this, ſhe had it ſtill in her power to recall it again.

This diſcourſe having fixed *Elizabeth*'s attention, he laid before her a plan which he had already contrived for that purpoſe. The only difficulty conſiſted in awakening the king's deſire to ſee her. It would be too tedious to wait till this could be brought about by accident; and therefore the lady *Trott*, who lived in the neighbourhood, took upon herſelf this part of the enterprize, and without being known to *Elizabeth*, formed a deſign which required as much dexterity as boldneſs. She repaired to *Windſor*, where the king ſpent his time in hunting, and pretending to be ſent by *Elizabeth*, begged, in her name, for the reſtitution of ſome eſtates that had belonged to her huſband, and had

confiſcated after the battle of *Northampton*, under the pretence, that ſhe had a deſire to retire into *France*, and was therefore willing to raiſe a fund ſufficient to procure her an eſtabliſhment in a foreign country. *Edward*, awakened at ſo dear a name, or rather raviſhed to find a perſon to whom he might ſpeak freely of one who was moſt dear to him, abandoned himſelf ſo entirely to this pleaſure, that he gave the lady *Trott* all the advantages ſhe could deſire. She had at firſt only thought of aſſuring herſelf of this prince's diſpoſition; but ſeeing him eagerly bent on communicating his thoughts to her, her dexterity made her gain at the firſt opportunity, what ſhe had apprehended it would be impoſſible for her to obtain without many repeated trials. On her perceiving the ardour of a paſſion which he did not endeavour to diſguiſe, ſhe expreſſed much aſtoniſhment at ſeeing a king expoſed to the torments of love, whilſt it ought to be ſuppoſed, that it was almoſt as eaſy for him to gratify as to conquer it; and when he complained of his having given his word to the earl of *Warwick*, ſhe aſked if the earl was not ſufficiently happy in having the woman he loved diſpoſed to go to *France* in ſearch of him, without his pretending to lay a reſtraint on her inclinations, during the ſhort abode ſhe would

would make in *England* in his abſence. This queſtion, ſays the author after whom I write, was the moſt ſubtle part of the lady *Trott*'s artifices. *Edward* appearing offended at a ſpeech that inflamed his jealouſy, ſhe immediately retracted what had eſcaped her, as if this complaint was only dictated by the uneaſineſs ſhe felt at loſing *Elizabeth*; and falling with the ſame air of ſimplicity into another extreme, ſhe did not ſcruple to tell the king, that the deepeſt concern with which *Elizabeth* was afflicted proceeded from the expectation of finding the earl at *Paris*, at a time when ſhe had no other reaſon for leaving *England*, than the injury he had done her in depriving her of the king's favour and eſteem.

I here tranſlate from a writer of whoſe veracity I cannot be certain; nor is it impoſſible but this variety of artifices may be only the fruit of invention: however, it appears evident from the teſtimony of the moſt ſerious authors, that *Edward* ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed on to take a journey to *Northampton*, under pretence that that county was extremely commodious for hunting, and that finding himſelf near *Graſton*, he propoſed to the lords who attended him to pay a viſit to *Joan* of *Luxemburgh*, *Elizabeth*'s

beth's mother, who was ſtill ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by her birth and firſt marriage to merit this honour.

The duke of *Somerſet* took care to avoid being ſeen, but having informed *Elizabeth* that the king's viſit was only a conſequence of their project, and that he was perſuaded that ſhe had thoughts of retiring to *France*, he prepared her for the part ſhe had to act. An hiſtorian even adds, that to inſpire her with the courage neceſſary to go through with it, he had cauſed the lady *Trott*, whom he had repreſented as a woman perfectly verſed in aſtrology, to come to her privately, and that they had let her clearly ſee in her horoſcope, that ſhe was deſtined by heaven to ſit on a throne. In ſhort, *Elizabeth*, who did not want wit, tho' ſhe had much leſs of this qualification than ſhe had of beauty, received the king with a modeſt and reſpectful politeneſs, that heightened his love by inſpiring him with a greater diffidence and reſerve than ever he had felt before. To the complaints he made her on her deſign to go to *France*, ſhe only returned a vague reply, that expreſſed a determined reſolution, the reaſons of which ſhe left him to gueſs; and when *Edward* aſked if any thing in his power was capable of ſtopping her, ſhe aſ-

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ſumed an air of confuſion, which the monarch did not fail to explain to his advantage. I am ſenſible of the difficulty there is of ſtripping this ſcene of the appearance of romance; but the moſt grave hiſtorians have related all its particulars, and I only write after them.

At the concluſion of this diſcourſe, the king in a tranſport of affection conjured *Elizabeth* not to render him more miſerable than the loweſt of his ſubjects, by depriving him of the only happineſs that made life deſirable; when the lovely widow ſhedding very opportunely ſome tears, complained, that he being on the point of marriage was too ſevere, and had too little ſincerity for her to frame ideas of happineſs where it was not to be expected. This language raiſed ſuch reflections in the king's mind as he had never felt with ſuch ſtrength before. However, he aſked *Elizabeth*, if ſhe did not perceive a wide difference between a marriage, which the neceſſities of ſtate obliged him to comply with, and an engagement of hearts that might ſatisfy his tendereſt deſires. "This, "Sir, replied ſhe, is what I flattered my-"ſelf you would have ſpared me, and what "muſt make me haſten my departure."

I omit what bears too great a reſemblance to the ordinary intrigues of gallantry. *Edward*, as if forced by this anſwer to have recourſe to his own reſolutions, deſired, without explaining himſelf, ſome days to examine the ſenſations of his heart. He obtained them. In this interval *Somerſet* redoubled his artifices; he was in no concern about keeping up the king's paſſion at the height to which it was raiſed: for it ſeemed as if this prince took a pleaſure in encreaſing it, for under the pretence of hunting he was continually at *Grafton* caſtle. But ſeeking to juſtify what his heart was fixed upon, and what was the ſubject of his conſtant meditations, he opened his mind to ſome of his principal counſellers, in order to ſupport himſelf on their advice and authority. Amongſt thoſe on whom he placed this confidence, ſome were friends to the earl of *Warwick*, and conſequently intereſted in warding off the affront with which he was threatened. Theſe repreſented the injury he would do to a miniſter whoſe ſervices he could not poſſibly have forgot, and who was perhaps in a condition to make him fear his reſentment. They laid great ſtreſs on the reſpect due to the king of *France*, who would think himſelf affronted in the perſon of

of his ſiſter-in-law, and from thence conceive a hatred againſt the *Engliſh*, that would render peace impoſſible to be maintained. They repreſented the diſſatisfaction of his principal ſubjects, who could not ſee without vexation and jealouſy, the flight which the *Woodvilles* would take above them. In ſhort, they painted *Elizabeth* in the moſt diſagreeable colours; obſerved that ſhe was a woman without wealth, that ſhe was his ſubject and had lain many years in the arms of a man of no higher degree than a knight, and that ſhe had born him many children.

On the other hand, ſome lords ſaw with pleaſure that the king had thoughts of chuſing a wife amongſt his ſubjects, from the hope that a door being once opened, all the nobility in the kingdom might at laſt aſpire to the ſame honour, and endeavoured to overthrow ſuch weak objections. What had he to fear from the earl of *Warwick*, while he was out of his dominions, and would it not be in his power at his return to prevent all the effects of his reſentment? The king of *France* might poſſibly be offended; but burthened as he was by ſo many affairs which he actually had on his hands, where would he find either time or power to revenge himſelf? With regard to the perſonal qualifi-

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cations of *Elizabeth*, he had nothing to do but to conſult his own heart; and if ſhe was ſo happy as to pleaſe him, ſhould a king expect to derive his grandeur from a woman, and ought he to ſearch for any thing beſides beauty and virtue?

Somerſet was informed by the lady *Trott*, that the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had appeared the moſt exaſperated againſt the king's marriage. He was very much alarmed at this news, and having learnt from the queen the cloſe connection between this prelate and the earl of *Warwick*, he feared that on this very overture he would give the earl ſuch advice as would cool him in his negociation. It was neceſſary that he ſhould prevent him; and therefore as his principal foible was ambition, *Somerſet* deſired the lady *Trott* to pay him a viſit in *Elizabeth*'s name, and to make a merit of granting him their confidence. He would not have her ſpeak of the marriage as a doubtful affair, or as if it was in his power to prevent it. But to let him know that *Elizabeth* had a great opinion of his abilities; to aſſure him that ſhe deſigned, as ſoon as ſhe had aſcended the throne, to make him her father and protector; that ſhe was already reſolved to procure him a cardinal's hat; and that if her prayers were heard by the king, ſhe did

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not deſpair of putting the adminiſtration of affairs into his hands. The archbiſhop was ſo dazled with theſe offers, that, replying only by expreſſions of gratitude, he haſtened to carry the proof of it to *Grafton-caſtle*. This ſtep rendered him very agreeable to the king, who ſaw an obſtacle removed, without knowing to what he ought to attribute this change, and who was beſides delighted at ſeeing his inclinations approved by ſo great a prelate.

He had nevertheleſs ſtill reaſon to be in fear from the prejudices of the people; and *Elizabeth* diſcovered that he was poſſeſſed with this fear. Hitherto the whole intrigue had been confined to thoſe whom they had admitted voluntarily into the ſecret, or thoſe who from other views they had been forced to intruſt: but it was neceſſary to expoſe her to the obſervation of the public, in order to obtain the approbation of the multitude; and what reaſon had ſhe to dread the opinions of a nation accuſtomed to look with reverence on practices that had the ſanction of time? The lady *Trott*, however, found out the means of removing this difficulty. This lady's induſtry muſt appear very extraordinary, ſince ſhe communicated her enterprizes to none but the duke of *Somerſet*, and tho' ſhe ſeemed to do nothing, every thing was put in motion

tion by her, while even her own family, with whom ſhe lived in a ſtate of tranquillity at *Northampton*, had not the leaſt diſtruſt of that important affair of which ſhe was the very ſoul. *Elizabeth Lucy*, a former miſtreſs of king *Edward*'s, lived a retired life in the ſame town. The lady *Trott* learnt from her that ſhe ſhould never have had the weakneſs to ſubmit to the king's deſires, if ſhe had not obtained a promiſe of marriage ſigned with his own hand, which ſhe ſtill kept in her poſſeſſion. Tho' a change of circumſtances had made a conſiderable difference in her pretenſions, ſince *Edward* was at that time only earl of *March*, ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be led into a raſh proceeding that had never entered into her thoughts in the moſt favourable times, and which we could ſcarce perſuade ourſelves to believe, was it not atteſted by all hiſtorians. On the rumour of the alliance projected with the princeſs of *Savoy*, ſhe made a juridical oppoſition to *Edward*'s marriage, by pretending that this prince was engaged to her by ties that could not be broken. The lady *Trott*'s deſign was to lead the public into a miſtake, or at leaſt to diminiſh the ſurpriſe of the people at ſeeing the king marry one of his ſubjects, after having ſeen him in ſome embarraſsment about

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delivering himſelf from an engagement of the ſame nature.

In fact, a ſuit at law of ſo remarkable and ſurpriſing a kind, excited the curioſity of the whole nation, and by an unaccountable capriciouſneſs in their diſpoſitions, the people were ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Elizabeth Lucy*, as to wiſh her all poſſible ſucceſs. *Edward* was the firſt who was alarmed at this news; but his miſtreſs, being inſtructed by the duke of *Somerſet*, took care to let him know, that this incident would infallibly turn out to his advantage, on which the king conſented that the affair ſhould be decided by an aſſembly of biſhops, of which the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was naturally at the head. The lady *Trott*, who had engaged *Elizabeth Lucy* in this dangerous affair, was now the firſt in making her afraid of its conſequences; and pretending that ſhe had not foreſeen the fatal effects that might be produced by reſiſting the king, ſhe adviſed her to ſacrifice a frivolous pretenſion to the other advantages ſhe might hope to receive from this prince's generoſity. The biſhops nevertheleſs aſſembled, and the timorous *Lucy* could not avoid appearing at their tribunal: but inſtead of producing the writing on which ſhe founded her pretenſions, ſhe only ſaid that

that *Edward* had made her hope that he would marry her. This proof of the king's engagements appeared very ridiculous, and the judgment of the prelates being what might reaſonably be expected from it, *Edward* had the generoſity to grant this unhappy girl a conſiderable penſion.

However, this affair produced all the effects the lady *Trott* had propoſed from it. The public aſtoniſhment having given birth to a multitude of diſputes and diſcuſſions on the foundation of that obligation, and that cuſtom that ſeemed to make it a law for crown'd heads to unite themſelves to none but women of the ſame rank; this ſubject was in a manner turned into a problem, and the king ſeized this favourable conjuncture to raiſe *Elizabeth Grey* to the throne. As he could not be happy till this was performed, and as there were a thouſand meaſures to be taken that it was not thought fit to neglect, the marriage was celebrated in private, and but a ſmall number of witneſſes were admitted. *Elizabeth* who thought herſelf obliged to *Somerſet*'s friendſhip for the happineſs ſhe enjoyed, intended to make him hold the firſt rank in this ceremony, and was deſirous of ſeizing ſo favourable a moment to make a reconciliation between him and

and the king. But ſhe was very much ſurpriſed to find him ſearch for pretences to excuſe himſelf from it; and, when after the nuptial benediction ſhe expected, at leaſt, that he would be the moſt warm in giving her his congratulations, ſhe was ſtill more aſtoniſhed on being told that he had diſappeared.

At *London* they had not the firſt news of the king's marriage, till orders were given for the queen's coronation. The advancement of the two *Woodvilles*, which followed immediately after this declaration, was another mark of the aſcendency this princeſs already had over the mind of her huſband, or of the force of a paſſion that had been ſo long confined, and that ſought of a ſudden to ſatisfy itſelf by all manner of ways. Sir *Richard Woodville*, the queen's father, was created earl of *Rivers*, *Anthony Woodville*, her brother, his two ſons, and in ſhort, all who were united to her, either by blood or affection, had a ſhare in this effuſion of favours.

Such was the ſucceſs of a deſign, in reality conceived by queen *Margaret*; but which could never have ſucceeded while ſhe was at ſuch a diſtance from *London*, if ſhe had entruſted it to two perſons leſs capable of bringing it to perfection. And as all the malig-

malignity of her enemies cannot make them ſuppoſe, that the ſmall number of lords who continued faithful to her, who ſerved her with zeal, and ſuch forgetfulneſs of their own intereſt, were engaged by the force of love, or ſome other irregular paſſion, it is natural to form the higheſt ideas of a princeſs, who inſpired thoſe that approached her in a familiar manner, with ſuch a lively affection. It was neither intereſt nor ambition that made *Somerſet* abandon *Edward*'s court, and all the favours he might expect to receive from queen *Elizabeth*'s gratitude. The lady *Trott*, who ſacrificed not only the ſame hopes, but even the ties of blood in the perſon of her niece, had no views with reſpect to fortune; but on the contrary, renounced all the ſweets of life to bear her ſhare of the misfortunes and grief of a dear miſtreſs to whom ſhe had devoted all her affection. She did not even make haſte to receive the queen's careſſes, which were the only reward ſhe could propoſe to herſelf: there remained other taſks to be performed for her ſervice. She had made the duke of *Somerſet* approve a deſign ſhe had formed of ſpending ſome time in *England*, and even of going to court to obſerve events more nearly, in order to draw ſome advantage from the moſt trifling circumſtances. Her old friends

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made her eaſily get acceſs to the dutcheſs of *Clarence*, the earl of *Warwick*'s daughter; and having inſinuated herſelf into her friendſhip, the aſſiduity with which ſhe waited on that lady, ſoon put her in a condition to follow all the ſteps of the queen's enemies, and to give her an account of them by the correſpondence ſhe had eſtabliſhed.

The relation of ſo long and ſo ſucceſsful an intrigue has made us loſe ſight of the earl of *Warwick*'s fury, and the firſt advantages *Margaret* had the dexterity to draw from it. The earl had happily no witneſſes of the firſt tranſports of his rage, beſides a ſmall number of friends whom he had invited to ſhare with him in his joy, and who felt on the contrary almoſt as lively a ſenſe as he, of the affront that was offered him. They adviſed him nevertheleſs to uſe diſſimulation, eſpecially as *Edward* had already foreſeen what he ought to expect from his reſentment, and had therefore endeavoured to prevent it by all the methods he thought moſt likely to appeaſe him. He had nominated *George Nevill*, his brother, to the archbiſhoprick of *York*, and when he could not avoid acquainting the earl with his marriage, he propoſed his returning to *England*, to take upon himſelf a principal ſhare in the admi-

adminiſtration, and to aſſiſt him continually with his advice. But ſo deep a wound could not be cured by ſuch weak and trifling remedies. The earl committed a mortal violence on himſelf, in making uſe of that moderation which his friends believed to be neceſſary; and if he kept ſome meaſures in his anſwer to *Edward*, it was only to gain time to meditate his revenge.

One would imagine that ſuch lively emotions would have inſtantly lead him to a reunion with the queen. This ſhe had expected, and at a conjuncture from which ſhe hoped to receive ſo many advantages, took care not to leave *Paris*. However her politics failed her in this particular; the haughty earl, who remembered not only the inconſiderate ſtep he had before taken with her, but the injurious treatment to which it had expoſed his ſiſter, and who could not doubt but that *Margaret* had from thence taken occaſion to redouble her hatred, would have thought that he debaſed himſelf too much in ſeeking the aſſiſtance of ſo declared an enemy: but addreſſing himſelf to king *Lewis*, whoſe reſentment he imagined ought to be equal to his own, he incited him by new motives to truſt him with the execution of their common revenge. It is not known

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what measures he took with this prince. Their conferences were so secret from the earl's being as much obliged by his interest to be silent, as *Lewis* was by his natural temper, that we find not any traces of them either in the *English* historians or our own; but it is probable that the great events, that soon broke forth, were conceived in some of the first moments of this heat of passion, and that tho' the king of *France* did not promise to grant the earl the open assistance of troops and ammunition, he offered him considerable sums, with all the assurances of protection necessary to support his courage.

Margaret, surprized at not seeing any sign of the earl's intending to communicate his thoughts to her, did not give way to the vain considerations that might inspire her with a much more justifiable pride; but resolved to tempt his haughty temper with proposals suited to the present conjuncture of affairs; the duke of *Somerset* saved her the mortification of making the first advances, by endeavouring to explain himself to the lady *Nevill*. He did not here find the difficulty he might possibly apprehend; for that lady not being made for hatred, appeared charmed at the queen's making the first advances towards a reconciliation; and whether

she

ſhe had orders from her brother to liſten to what *Somerſet* ſeemed deſirous of ſeeking an opportunity to propoſe to her; or whether ſhe was herſelf led to grant what ſhe believed would equally conduce to the advantage both of the queen and the earl, ſhe gave the duke as favourable an opportunity as he could wiſh, of communicating his thoughts. But what appears very ſtrange, is her receiving his explications without daring to communicate them to her brother, at leaſt ſhe always pretended, that ſhe had not acquainted him with them. However, ſhe confeſſed that he was greatly exaſperated againſt *Edward*, and was ſo far from abſolutely rejecting the duke's propoſals, that ſhe deſired time to make the earl reliſh them, while they were on their journey to *London*.

This reſerve can only be attributed to the earl's fear of raſhly hazarding his confidence, after that kind of treachery with which he had formerly behaved towards the queen. In ſpite of all his projects he could not avoid returning to *England:* Had he not reaſon therefore to ſuſpect that on the leaſt diſcontent, or the leaſt ſuſpicion of his fidelity, this princeſs would take advantage of the engagements ſhe had entered into with him, to attempt his ruin, which ſhe might do with

with the more eaſe, as he would be at *London*, where *Edward* himſelf, who could not doubt of the hatred he bore him, would readily ſeize all the opportunities that could be offered him to treat him without mercy. What gives the greater weight to this conjecture is, that he had ſcarce ſet out with his ſiſter, when *Lewis*, treating *Margaret* with more reſpect than ever, ſpoke to her as freely on all his projects, as if he had never treated her with reſerve. He even lent her twenty thouſand crowns on two conditions, which ſeemed to comprehend the views ſhe had been hitherto unacquainted with; the one was on her reaſcending the throne, ſhe ſhould pay him forty thouſand, and the other, that ſhe ſhould give the government of *Calais* to *Jaſper*, earl of *Pembroke*, and *John de Foix*, earl of *Candale*. The queen who was alſo capable of diſſimulation, affected not to carry her curioſity farther than the bounds to which he ſeemed to confine her.

Whatever explication might be given to this myſterious conduct, ſhe could not avoid obſerving that he was raiſing a ſtorm in which ſhe was to have ſome concern; and that tho' ſhe might only lend her name to it, ſhe muſt neceſſarily bear a principal part.

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If it was very painful for her ſtill to continue in a ſtate of inaction, her reaſon convinced her, that a glory ought ſometimes to be ſacrificed to more important intereſts: However, the news ſhe received from lady *Trott* ſoon put her out of this ſtate of uncertainty. She was informed that the earl of *Warwick*, after having been only two days at court, had retired to his eſtate, under the pretence of an indiſpoſition; while the king was ſo far from oppoſing him, that he very readily ſuffered him to go; and not being able to imagine, that at a time when all ranks of people ſeemed to have an affection for his perſon, he had any thing to fear from the diſcontent of a ſingle ſubject, he even neglected him ſo far as not to ſet a ſpy upon him to watch his conduct. Perhaps the earl's artifices might lull him into this ſecurity. He had ſet out from *London* with no other attendants beſides a valet de chambre and two phyſicians; for at his arrival from *France* he had complained of an indiſpoſition that ſeemed to require a ſtrict regimen for ſeveral months, and had made a great merit of that reſolution of mind, that was neceſſary to make him ſubmit to it. Thus *Edward* was ſo imprudent as to ſuffer himſelf to be caught by this pretence; for when he thought his enemy ſpent his time in taking phyſic, his houſe at *Middleham* was every

every night filled with his friends and creatures, who by his orders were desired to repair thither with the utmost secrecy. The dutchess of *Clarence* being often there in a more public manner, the lady *Trott* who offered to accompany her, had made several observations, which she did not fail to communicate to the queen. At first the dutchess went without her husband, as if it had cost her some pains to prevail on him to go: the duke having at last resolved to follow her, there grew so strict an intimacy between him and the earl, that he spent all the time at *Middleham* that he could spare from the court. His coolness had proceeded from the ease with which the earl had laid aside their first project; for tho' he had not then opened his principal views, he could not bear to think that an affair so frivolous as that of an amorous passion should overturn the most important deliberations, and that the earl should have made a sacrifice of him to *Elizabeth Grey*. He had complained of this to his wife in the most bitter terms, and his uneasiness had encreased, since the queen's pregnancy had lessened his hopes of supplanting his brother. The dutchess wrought on the earl's mind in so artful a manner, that while offering her husband's complaints, she found the means of making him relish the views which the

duke had formed without his participation. So far from finding that he had an averſion to the propoſal of raiſing him on the king's ruin, the earl embraced this propoſal as a favourable opportunity of gratifying the double reſentment he had entertained againſt *Edward* and *Margaret*. In ſhort, the duke of *Clarence* having freely explained himſelf, all their deſigns began to be raiſed on this foundation; and thus while their reſolutions turned on dethroning *Edward*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* was forgot.

Another remark of the lady *Trott*'s regarded *Bourchier*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. She had informed the dutcheſs of *Clarence* of the ſecret between him and queen *Elizabeth* from a fear leſt the earl of *Warwick*, ſhould continue to deliver his thoughts, without reſerve, to a man who was only capable of betraying him. But the archbiſhop had ſeen ſo little appearance of the execution of thoſe promiſes by which he had ſuffered himſelf to be caught, that he began perhaps to repent of his credulity. *Elizabeth*'s principal care was employed about aggrandizing her family. The earl of *Rivers*, her father, had the adminiſtration of affairs, and beſides the office of lord high treaſurer, with which he had been inveſted almoſt immediately after the king's mar-

marriage, he had juſt obtained the poſt of high conſtable, vacant by either the forced or voluntary reſignation of the earl of *Worceſter*. *Anthony Woodville*, her brother, had at the ſame time obtained the reverſion of the office of high conſtable. In ſhort, the queen, loſing the remembrance of all the methods which ſhe had been obliged to employ in the work of advancing her fortune, thought of nothing but enjoying all the benefits that could not eſcape her while ſhe poſſeſſed this elevation, and of ſharing them amongſt a ſmall number of relations and friends, on whom ſhe heaped all her favours. From hence the archbiſhop, filled with vexation at ſeeing his ſervices ſo ill rewarded, took a journey to *Middleham*, and appeared before the earl of *Warwick*, without giving him the leaſt intimation of his viſit. His preſence inſtantly filled this aſſembly of conſpirators with fear, who were only employed about projects of revenge and deſtruction; but after he had had a private converſation with the earl, they were agreeably ſurprized at ſeeing him eager to join in the throng, embracing ſome, ſaluting others by their names, and congratulating all on the generous deſign on which they were met. However, he adviſed them to avoid aſſembling in numbers, and to take away all cauſe of raiſing diſtruſt in a

king, who washed away his least suspicions with blood. *Montague*, the earl's brother, always commanded in the north, and it was in this quarter that the conspirators were willing to attempt an insurrection: the archbishop therefore advised them to seek for some pretence, on which they might repair thither without being observed, and that might serve to give colour to their enterprize, different from that of revenging the earl of *Warwick*.

The lady *Trott* in giving such important discoveries to the queen, added her own advice. She was of opinion, that the house of *Lancaster* had no reason to fear the opposition of a second *York*, and that all the motions made in favour of the duke of *Clarence* would infallibly turn to *Henry*'s advantage. What appearance was there, that the nation would consent to have *Edward* dethroned for the sake of his brother? Force might raise him up in a moment, but it could not promote him a long and peaceful establishment. On the contrary, the very efforts which the two brothers made to tear each other in pieces, would contribute not only to weaken them both, but to make the public regret a milder reign. They would recall to mind *Henry*'s pacific dispositions, whose government had

never been disturbed, except by a small number of rebellious subjects; and when his son should make his appearance in *England*, they would consider him as the sign of tranquility and happiness, that would unite all parties to his father.

Margaret's inability made her adhere to this advice. She might gather the fruit of an intrigue that had hitherto succeeded so happily; but yet it was not that she expected. However, at a time when *Scotland* had just agreed with *Edward* on a truce for twelve years; when the count of *Charolois* had just married this prince's sister; when the duke of *Brittany* was at war with *France*; when king *Lewis*, to whom *Margaret* discovered all she had learnt from her confidant, seemed to receive this news so cooly that it was evident while he only wished to see *England* disturbed by intestine wars, he was indifferent about the cause by which they were produced; in short, when this unfortunate queen found herself without friends, without ships, and even without troops, from her having the misfortune to lose the Seneschal of *Normandy*, who was killed at the battle of *Moutl'hery*, and whose death dispersed the small number of volunteers he had assembled; what had she to do but to wait for the mo-

ment marked out by heaven for the return of her hopes, and to flatter herſelf, perhaps, with the opinion of her confidant, that the diviſion of her enemies would produce their ruin? This interval ſhe employed in the education of her ſon, a prince that did not belye the good opinion that had been conceived of his natural talents; but at his age there was a neceſſity for their being cultivated with the moſt aſſiduous care. The queen gave him the beſt maſters ſhe could find in *France*, and watching herſelf over their labours, took the moſt important part, that of regulating his heart, and forming his judgment. Nor did ſhe fail to give him examples to confirm his principles, and motives to inſpire him with a reliſh for them. Thus ſhe found that he anſwered her expectations, by a progreſs ſo ſpeedy as to ſurpaſs her hopes.

But ſhe was interrupted in this employment by a piece of news that made her ſuddenly paſs to other cares. She was informed by a meſſenger from lady *Trott*, that all *Yorkſhire* was in arms, without any one's being able to diſcover, from what this tempeſt aroſe. There was in the city of *York* a rich hoſpital for pilgrims and the ſick, the revenue of which conſiſted in a certain quantity of corn, which all the farmers in the county were obliged

obliged to furniſh, in proportion to the land they cultivated. A rumour ſuddenly ſpread abroad, by which the farmers were perſuaded, that the ſubſtance of the poor was applied to the private uſe of the truſtees, and this ſpread the ſpirit of ſedition throughout the whole county. The ordinary contributions were openly refuſed, and the collectors being ſo bold as to have recourſe to force, all the peaſants were aſſembled to reſiſt them in the ſame manner. What was at the beginning but a confuſed rabble, ſoon became a regular faction, the chiefs of which appeared perfectly to agree amongſt themſelves. The number of the ſeditious inceſſantly encreaſing, there were found twenty thouſand, who marched in order of battle towards the capital of the county, and threw all the inhabitants into conſternation. There were none who would not have attributed this revolt to the intrigues of the earl of *Warwick*, if he had made the leaſt attempt to draw any advantage from it: but he had repaired a little before to *Calais*, of which he was ſtill governor, and from whence he did not ſeem in haſte to return; and what threw even thoſe into uncertainty who were diſpoſed to ſecond him, without being admitted to ſhare his ſecret, was, that the marquis of *Montague* his brother, who commanded in *York*, put himſelf

at the head of all the troops he could gather together, and all the citizens fit to bear arms, to engage the rebels; and having, in ſhort, attacked them with great courage, in ſpite of the inequality of numbers, he put them to flight, and took *Robert Huldrone*, their principal leader, whom he cauſed to be immediately beheaded.

This ſpeedy execution appeared very myſterious to the earl's friends, who had conſidered the enterprize of the mutineers as his work. But they were to continue a long time in their uncertainty, for the conduct of the *Nevills* was one of thoſe grand ſtrokes of policy that appear ſurpriſing even after the execution. *Montague* and the archbiſhop of *York* were the authors of the ſedition, and their cutting off their leader was deſigned at once to ſecure themſelves from the ſuſpicion of the court, as long as it would be neceſſary for them to uſe diſſimulation, and to give the rebels, with a better grace, leaders of greater weight and authority. *Conyers*, an ancient officer, whoſe experience was equal to his valour, had orders to reaſſemble them immediately, and to put at their head two young lords devoted to the earl of *Warwick*, who was to act in their own names, while *Conyers* acted according to the earl's directions.

ons. The one was ſon to the lord *Fitz-harry*, and the other of the lord *Latimer*, both of whom were related to the earl. The mutineers now reſumed ſuch courage, that ſuffering themſelves to be drawn into any reſolutions, they forgot *York*, which was the firſt object of their fury, and ſet out on a march towards *London*. The earl of *Pembroke*, who undertook to oppoſe their paſſage with ten thouſand men, was entirely defeated; but having afterwards received a freſh ſupply, he obliged them to ſtop near *Banbury*, where the two armies encamped at a ſmall diſtance from each other; but *Henry Nevill*, ſon to the lord *Latimer*, animated his men with ſo warm a ſpeech, that falling the next day on the royal army, he cut them in pieces. Unhappy for him, and a great number of other lords, this ſignal victory coſt him his life; for purſuing the fugitives, and following them with too much eagerneſs, he was taken priſoner by ſome of the royaliſts, and ſoon after killed in cold blood. But this barbarity filled his men with ſuch horror, that having in their turn ſeized the earl of *Pembroke* and his brother, they immediately cut off their heads, and ſetting no bounds to their revenge, they advanced with rapidity to *Grafton-caſtle*, where they ſurprized the earl of *Rivers*, the queen's father, the king's

favourite and principal miniſter, took him from thence, in ſpite of all the efforts he made to defend himſelf, and having led him to *Northampton*, they beheaded him in a public manner, without the leaſt form of trial.

This furious torrent, which encreaſed in proportion as the rebels advanced nearer *London*, would have put the king in the greateſt danger, if the uncommon ſeverity of the ſeaſon had not ſuddenly obliged both parties to lay aſide their arms. Beſides, *Montague* and the archbiſhop of *York*, who had not expected ſuch a rapid run of proſperity, thought proper to wait for the earl's orders; as they were ſufficiently certain that the exceſſive cold that ſtopped their men, would not permit the king to make any motion to diſturb them. The duke of *Clarence* was gone to join the earl of *Warwick* at *Calais*; and it is a thing incredible, that from the tranquility which to appearance they obſerved, neither the name of *Henry Nevill*, who was put at the head of the rebels, nor the revenge exerciſed on the earl of *Rivers*, nor even the origin of the revolt, which began under the eyes of *Montague*, had made the king ſuſpect that the ſtorm had been raiſed by the earl of *Warwick*, and that it was conducted under his influence. This ſecurity left the

the earl time during the winter, to take more proper meaſures than ever. Some hiſtorians aſſert, that he went to *Rouen* to conſer with *Lewis* the eleventh, who was in that city. But if we do not at leaſt ſuppoſe that this prince was actuated by a blind deſire to diſturb *England*, without having any fixed or certain deſign in view, this continuation of intelligence with the earl of *Warwick*, muſt but ill agree with the ſteps he took, on the other hand, in favour of queen *Margaret*.

This princeſs was too well acquainted with the earl's deſigns, by the advices ſhe continually received from the lady *Trott*, to perſuade herſelf, that he had any thought of ſerving her. She knew that he paid little regard to the intereſt of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and that in gratifying his hatred to *Edward*, he propoſed to ſecond the duke of *Clarence*'s ambition. However, the hope of turning their enterprizes to her own advantage, induced her to make freſh application to *Lewis* the eleventh. She had no longer any hopes of obtaining either veſſels or troops; he was himſelf too much employed by the activity of her brother the duke of *Berry*, and the deſigns he had on *Britany*: but from the reſolution ſhe had taken up of returning to *England*, ſhe deſired that *Lewis* would cauſe

her to be conveyed thither with as much ſafety as ſecrecy, and relying on his honour and integrity, left to him the choice of the means. After many deliberations, the king offered to ſend ambaſſadors to *Edward*, under the pretence of inviting him to renew the truce, and to give her all the ſafety ſhe could require by going in their retinue. The example of *Henry*, who from his own imprudence had been taken and ſtill languiſhed in one of the dungeons of the tower, made the queen perceive the neceſſity ſhe was under of uſing all poſſible precautions. However, there appeared ſuch a neceſſity for her being in *London*, or at leaſt in ſome other part of the kingdom, at the inſtant when the duke of *Clarence* and the earl of *Warwick* ſhould publickly pull off the maſk, and not doubting, from the lady *Trott*'s informations, but that this great event was reſerved for the opening of the campaign, ſhe reſolved at all hazards to accept of *Lewis*'s offer.

Her ſon, the dear hope of an unhappy houſe, could not but make one in ſo dangerous a voyage, and in him were centred all her fears. He was diſguiſed in the habit, and went under the name of a young eccleſiaſtic, who accompanied the archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, one of the ambaſſadors named by the king. *Mar-*

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garet herſelf changed her dreſs and name, and this diſguiſe was managed with ſuch ſecrecy, that even the archbiſhop's domeſtics had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. They had a happy voyage. The queen cauſed herſelf to be conducted to *London*; for ſhe knew a thouſand ways of concealing herſelf in a great city, which could not ſo eaſily be done in any of the counties. Of all the ſubjects who ſtill continued faithful to her, ſhe was ſcarce certain of finding one who would expoſe himſelf to danger by receiving her. She was ſenſible that there was a great difference between the zeal that might make them embrace her intereſt, when ſhe ſhould make known her arrival, and that neceſſary to make them ſuddenly open their houſes to her, at the hazard of being treated by *Edward* with the rigour he had exerciſed on thoſe who had received her huſband.

The dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, accompanied by the earl of *Devonſhire*, who came to her ſome time before to ſympathize with her in her misfortunes, croſſed the ſea with her, and took upon themſelves the taſk of providing a retreat for her in *London*. At her landing ſhe was in ſome danger from a citizen, who earneſtly fixing his eyes upon her, ſaid ſhe was very like the queen. Her

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ſteadineſs, however, ſaved her at this juncture; for pretending not to mind what he ſaid, and being not the leſs attentive to the ſafety of the young prince than if ſhe was one of his men, led him by the hand, and by this means favoured her paſſage. The duke of *Somerſet* conducted them both to a houſe of his own, that by the fidelity of the perſon he had appointed to look after it, had not been compriſed in the general confiſcation of his eſtates. They there ſpent ſeveral days in as much tranquillity as plenty, liſtening nevertheleſs to every rumour, and drawing conjectures on the ſtate of their affairs from all the events they were capable of penetrating into while in this ſolitude.

It was impoſſible for the queen to be ſo near the unhappy *Henry*, without ardently deſiring to ſee that good king, that mild and complaiſant huſband, whoſe name was in a manner buried with a reign of forty years duration. But what appearance was there of her being able to open the gates of a priſon ſo impenetrable as that of the tower? The governor was devoted to the houſe of *York*. A terrible guard watched the entrance of *Henry*'s priſon. It was even doubted in the city whether he was ſtill alive, and many were perſuaded that *Edward* had cauſed him to be ſecretly murdered, and only delayed making

making known his death from a regard to hi own honour. The queen was nevertheleſs certain of his being alive, and had learnt the dreadful circumſtances of his ſituation from his jailer himſelf, who was an old *Lancaſtrian*, whom ſhe had placed in that office after the death of the duke of *Glouceſter*; and when the firſt duke of *Somerſet*, to ſtifle the rumour of his tragical execution, had ſucceſſively diſpatched ſeveral jailers by ways equally cruel. *Margaret* had cauſed this old man to be brought to her, and finding that he ſtill felt all his antient zeal for a maſter, whoſe misfortune he had even endeavoured to ſoften, by giving him every thing that might contribute to his conſolation, ſhe did not deſpair of opening a way even into the centre of this horrid abode.

She reſolved to attempt this dangerous enterprize alone. Hiſtorians do not excuſe this imprudence, but they think her raſhneſs pardonable, from its being dictated by conjugal affection, and the intereſt ſhe had in aſſuring herſelf that ſo precious a life was ſtill preſerved. However, the fear of expoſing her ſon, made her chuſe to entertain the jailer, at a place different from that of her retreat. The offer of a reward proportionable to the ſervice, had a leſs effect on this faithful ſervant,

vant, than the ſatisfaction of obeying his queen. He did not conceal the greatneſs of the danger, nor did he appear concerned about his own ſafety; but when he found her ready to put on any diſguiſe he had ventured to propoſe to her, he ſeemed to have loſt a part of his fears. That which he thought moſt ſafe, was to receive her into his houſe in the quality of a ſervant. To this ſhe conſented. In vain did the lords who were both her guard and her counſellors, repreſent that it was of the utmoſt importance, that ſhe ſhould not expoſe her liberty; her meaſures ſeemed to her ſo certain, that ſhe could not be ſhaken by fear.

It is known, that ſhe happily accompliſhed this enterprize, in which ſhe really ran no other hazard, but that of the infidelity of her guide. It is alſo known, that whatſoever were the meaſures ſhe took to gain admiſſion into the king's priſon, ſhe found that prince in a ſituation not to be deſcribed; regarding his life as a bleſſing that he was every moment in danger of having taken from him, he ſeemed to have loſt all concern about every thing neceſſary for its preſervation. Thoſe who have attributed this indifference to his piety, were in the right in believing him worthy to be worſhipped by the church; they

they therefore actually attempted at the court of *Rome*, to obtain for him the honour of canonization. But the moſt ſenſible hiſtorians have not attributed to his religion, what ſeemed to have proceeded only from a loſs of courage, or a natural weakneſs of mind; eſpecially, when we compare it with the forty years which this prince had ſpent on the throne, in a ſtate of languor and inaction, that could not fail of making him obtain a deſpicable rank in the race of kings. Since his being at the *Tower*, he had never changed his cloaths, nor ſlept on a bed; ſcarce would he conſent to receive a little of the moſt ordinary food, which he made his only nouriſhment; his beard and hair were neglected; and as he lived in a perpetual ſolitude, he ſeemed to have loſt all attention to what paſſed abroad in that world from which he was excluded. However, he melted into tears at knowing again the queen; nor could ſhe herſelf refrain from them, at the ſight of this diſmal ſpectacle, and all their converſation had a tincture of this firſt impreſſion. The recital of ſo ſecret a conference ought not to be expected, for it has too much the air of romance in the *Engliſh* authors who have adorned their works with it, to be conſidered for a moment as a ſerious part of this hiſtory: but it is natural to imagine, that the queen gathered

gathered from thence new motives to animate her courage, and that ſhe endeavoured to inſpire the king with it. She drew another advantage from this viſit, ſhe learnt from him the names of many brave men, whoſe zeal had made them find the means of conveying into his priſon, letters and memorials, which would at leaſt have ſerved to ſupport his hopes, if he had been ſenſible to the pleaſure of having ſtill faithful ſubjects. Of this number was the earl of *Oxford*, whom the queen was rejoiced to find again in her intereſt; he was indeed reconciled to *Edward*, but this was done with a view of ſerving *Henry* under oppoſite appearances.

Margaret had ſpent ſix days at the jailor's, which had been found neceſſary to prepare the circumſtances of her enterprize. But on her return to the duke of *Somerſet*'s, ſhe did not expect the fatal news which they were unable to conceal from her at her arrival. When ſhe aſked with eagerneſs for her ſon, that ſhe might return him his father's embraces, ſhe was informed by the duke's ſadneſs and embarraſſment, as much as by his anſwer, that the young prince had diſappeared the day after ſhe went to the *Tower*, and that all the pains they had taken

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in ſearch of him, had been employed to no purpoſe. Indeed, the duke, to diminiſh the queen's uneaſineſs by ſome ſhadow of hope, immediately added, that the prince's valet de chambre was gone with him, and that having taken with them a part of their cloaths, there was little appearance of any misfortune happening to them, if they did not voluntarily precipitate themſelves into it. But was this mitigation capable of removing *Margaret*'s alarms? She paſſed eight days in torments that triumphed over her uſual conſtancy. The leaſt of her fears was, that *Edward* had cauſed him to be carried off; and far from recovering herſelf, upon learning that there was no talk of him at court, ſhe was ſometimes ready to believe, that his loſs was only the more certain, and that his enemies had cauſed him to be ſecretly murdered.

In ſhort, her inquietude was at laſt removed by the prince's return. He preſented himſelf before her with a look of timidity, as ſoon as he had heard that his mother was returned from the tower, and that ſhe was under a terrible affliction for his abſence. It was leſs from him than his guide, that ſhe firſt drew the ſecret of his voyage and deſigns. He returned from *Calais*, whither he had been conducted by love; for tho' he was ſcarce four-

teen,

teen, he had not been able to ſee the lady *Anne Nevill*, the earl of *Warwick*'s ſecond daughter, without feeling the ſenſations of a violent paſſion. He had ſeen her at *Paris* with the earl, and as time had only ſerved to encreaſe his affection, he no ſooner thought that the queen was employed for ſome weeks in her viſit to his father, than he forced his valet de chambre to go with him to *Calais*; at the ſame time hoping that he ſhould return to *London* before ſhe had finiſhed her affairs at the tower. To her reproach, that he had expoſed himſelf with too much imprudence to the dangers which threatened his life, he replied, with an air of pleaſantry, that ſhe had not given him an example of timidity in delivering up herſelf to the diſcretion of a jailer.

What an opinion muſt ſhe conceive of a mind ſo firm and enterprizing? Prudence, however, made her moderate her joy; and giving his boldneſs, on the contrary, the name of raſhneſs, ſhe would know all the circumſtances of his voyage, that ſhe might take occaſion to inſtruct him from his leaſt faults. But ſhe could not reſiſt the tranſport of her heart, when ſhe underſtood with what precaution and what diſcretion he had not only gratified the emotions of his paſſion, but had diſcovered a part of the earl's deſigns, by the

infor-

informations he had the addreſs to procure while at *Calais.* She embraced him, ſays an hiſtorian, who makes no difficulty of inveſting her with the gift of prophecy, and ſhedding tears of joy and grief, from the mixture ſhe all at once felt of theſe two oppoſite paſſions, expreſſed herſelf in theſe terms: 'Fortune, who has treated you ill from your 'birth, has no reparation ſufficient to atone 'for her cruelty; and therefore I fear ſhe 'will complete your deſtruction, becauſe ſhe 'owes you more than ſhe is able to pay.' This prediction of the queen's will not be forgot, when I ſhall relate a much more clear and circumſtantial one by the king, her huſband.

'Tis true, the young prince had conducted his amorous adventure with a ſagacity that was very ſingular for one of his age. He was introduced into *Calais* under the ſame diſguiſe, as that he had made uſe of in entering *London.* Nothing was ſo common as to ſee there young eccleſiaſtics, who had juſt finiſhed their ſtudies in the abbies of *Normandy.* He had the addreſs even to procure frequent opportunities of viſiting the lady *Anne Nevill*, and what might perhaps have expoſed him to ſome diſgrace, if he had not been ſo ſucceſsful as to pleaſe her, became the

the means of his ſafety, by inſpiring her with ſuch gratitude and love, as made her intereſt herſelf in his fortune. He had obſerved the preparations that were privately made for the departure of the duke of *Clarence* and the earl of *Warwick*, who were both in that city with their families. He had been a witneſs to the hurry of their ſervants, and the ſeveral explanations he drew from his miſtreſs, did not permit him to doubt of the earl's being juſt ready to croſs the channel, with a number of projects that might prove fatal to *Edward*.

Theſe obſervations agreed ſo well with the informations *Margaret* had received from the lady *Trott*, that the winter drawing near to an end, ſhe expected to ſee the campaign opened by ſome important enterprize. All her cares, in this interval, were confined to regulating the ſprings of her own deſigns, and reviving, either in perſon, or by her emiſſaries, the antient zeal of her partizans. Scarce was the month of *February* over, when the duke and the earl returned to *London*, where they arrived without attendants, and with the ſole view of obſerving the diſpoſition of the court. This affectation of confidence ſucceeded ſo well, that by a ſtrange blindneſs to his own intereſt, and in ſpite of the

the ſuſpicions that had ariſen in his mind during the winter, *Edward* gave them a joint commiſſion to levy forces againſt the rebels in the north. But the maſk was ready to fall off. Having both ſet out, as if nothing appeared ſo preſſing as the execution of this order, they about thirty miles from *London* joined a body of troops that came to them from *Calais* by the way of *Norfolk*, and then marching towards *Yorkſhire*, ſuddenly found themſelves at the head of a conſiderable army, by their being joined by the whole body of the rebels. *Edward*, ſtruck as with a thunderbolt at this news, inſtantly paſſed to the moſt violent extremes. He ſent orders to all his faithful ſubjects in the north, to ſeize theſe two rebels, promiſing that whoever took them alive or dead, ſhould have an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds ſterling, or ten thouſand pounds in ready money according to their choice; and inſtantly raiſing troops in all the places under his ſubjection, he was in a few days at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men, with which he marched without heſitation againſt his enemies.

Tho' they did not expect that he would have acted with ſuch vigour and diligence, they were diſpoſed ſteadily to keep their ground,

ground, with the reſolution of ſpeedily deciding the quarrel by a battle. The two armies ſoon found themſelves ſo near, that nothing but the approach of night was capable of deferring the engagement. However, ſome lords of more moderate diſpoſitions took advantage of this interval, to make propoſals of an accomodation. While *Edward*, a little cooled at the ſight of danger, conſidered that he was going to ſtake a crown on the ſucceſs of a battle, when all the advantages he could hope to receive from a victory, would not recompence him for the blood that would inevitably be ſpilt. Beſides, he had to do with the earl of *Warwick*, whoſe ſingle name ſeemed to determine the fate of war; with him who had raiſed him to the throne, and who had not undertaken to caſt him from it, without having ſecured his deſign by meaſures worthy of his prudence and courage. Theſe reflections made him conſent to begin a negotiation the next day, the ſucceſs of which appeared ſo little doubtful, that he neglected to uſe the ordinary precautions in entrenching his camp. The earl of *Warwick* was informed of his negligence, and did not ſuffer ſo favourable an opportunity to eſcape him. He attacked the royal army in the night, and his name threw it into ſuch diſorder, that diſdaining to kill thoſe enemies who did not preſent

ſent themſelves before him, he penetrated even to *Edward*'s tent. Scarce was this prince eſcaped from the arms of ſleep, when diſturbed by a tumult, with the cauſe of which he was ſtill unacquainted, and uncertain whether he ought to fight or fly, he ſaw the earl come in victorious, whoſe preſence informed him of his deſtiny. All the pride of his rank diſappeared on his fixing his eyes on thoſe of his conqueror; and he delivered up his arms, at the ſame time deſiring him not to make an ill uſe of his victory.

What a ſurprizing event! the earl could not inſult an unhappy ſuppliant enemy; but having cauſed him to be immediately carried to *Warwick*, he choſe the following day for deliberating with the duke of *Clarence* on the firſt advantage they ought to reap from their good fortune. The impatient eagerneſs of the duke's ambition had made him willing not to defer any longer the publication of his pretenſions: for the royal army having joined the earl's, it ſeemed as if this general diſpoſition to obedience left no obſtacle to fear. However, the earl adviſed him to give a more pacifick form to this enterprize by repairing to the capital, and ſupporting himſelf on the authority of parliament. He diſmiſſed a part of his troops with a deſign to make the peo-

ple believe, that he thought leſs of troubling the ſtate than of re-eſtabliſhing that order and juſtice, which he complained had been violated by *Edward*; and contenting himſelf with informing them by this preparation of the changes he meditated, declared that he deſigned to go to *London*, to remedy, in conjunction with the parliament, the abuſes of the nation. But *Warwick* not appearing a place of ſufficient ſtrength for the king's priſon, the earl cauſed him to be conveyed to his caſtle at *Middleham*, where he placed him under the charge of the archbiſhop of *York*, his brother.

The news of his victory having reached *London*, *Margaret*, in the firſt emotions of her joy, reſolved not to loſe a moment, in aſſembling thoſe of her party, and cauſing either her huſband or her ſon to be proclaimed, according to the inclination the people ſhould diſcover for one or the other of theſe princes: but it was repreſented that the time ſhe ought to chuſe was not that when the two conquerors were at the head of a powerful army, and when the mere vexation of ſeeing himſelf foreſtalled, would be capable of leading the duke of *Clarence* to a ſpeedy reconciliation with his brother. As the reſolution they had formed of returning to *London*, with-

out giving the leaſt intimation of their deſign, ſeemed to leave ſome room to doubt if they had not changed in favour of *Henry*, the duke of *Somerſet* was of opinion that they could not fear their laying her under ſome obligation to them, if they ſhould declare for this prince; and that if they ſhould diſcover other intentions on their arrival at *London*, or delayed even for a moment to open *Henry*'s priſon, it would then be time for them to puſh forwards with ſo much the more confidence, as even their arrival would ſerve to perſuade the people that this was their work; without reckoning that as they could not be able to bring the troops they had left with them into *London*, it would be eaſy, by taking a few precautions, to arreſt them, and make them take the king's place, at the moment when he ſhould be brought out of the tower.

This advice was doubtleſs the only one *Margaret* ought to have adhered to in ſo precipitate a conjuncture, and at the time when ſhe could not hope ſuddenly to raiſe an army, and when ſhe had nevertheleſs a ſufficient number of her party in *London*, to ſeize with the greateſt eaſe the two rebel chiefs. Her two principal confidents employed themſelves in ſecretly arming their friends in all quarters

of the city, and in chuſing a number of the moſt reſolute for this arreſt; and all their meaſures were taken with order and diſcretion, that nothing ſeemed capable of diſconcerting a ſcheme ſo well conducted. They ſoon learnt that the earl of *Warwick* was approaching, and that as he came forward in his march, he diminiſhed the number of his troops, by diſbanding them as they croſſed the counties in which they had been raiſed. This laſt news ſeemed to inſure the enterprize of the *Lancaſtrians*: but when they were computing the days to know when they might expect to ſee him arrive, they were informed, that having met queen *Elizabeth* at *St. Albans*, he had been ſo warmly ſollicited by that princeſs to hear the propoſals ſhe had to make, that drawn, perhaps, by the remains of his ancient fondneſs, he had not been able to reſiſt her intreaties. Tho' nothing was able to make him abandon his projects, he was willing to join to the glory of his arms that of gallantry; and thus by an unſeaſonable complaiſance, he loſt the precious moments, which he did not think himſelf ſo near regretting.

Elizabeth, without being diſtinguiſhed by an extraordinary degree of wit, had all the addreſs peculiar to her ſex. She had great hopes from the eaſe with which the earl had

ſuffered

ſuffered himſelf to be detained by her entreaties, and not doubting to what it was that ſhe owed her aſcendancy, ſhe made no difficulty of uſing it, in order to bring back this proud conqueror to more moderate ſentiments. He heard her without relenting; but the pleaſure he had in ſeeing her, and the complaiſance ſhe diſcovered at hearing him, without appearing offended at his gallant diſcourſes, made him ſpend many days in ſo ſweet an employment. To the duke of *Clarence*'s inſtances, who adviſed him not to defer his return to *London*, he replied, that all about him being quiet, he ſaw nothing that rendered their march ſo urgent, and that it was even for their intereſt to perſuade all *England* that their projects only turned on peace and the publick welfare, by letting them ſee nothing in their conduct that looked like paſſion or precipitation. Thus love that has ruined ſo many noble enterprizes, effected one of the moſt extraordinary inſtances of treachery. While he ſlept in this exceſs of ſecurity, a ſudden rumour, that he was ſo happy as to hear before it came to the knowledge of thoſe who might have made it turn to his ruin, informed him, that *Edward* having eſcaped from his priſon, had entered *London* almoſt alone, that he had been received with the acclamations of all who had continued his faithful ſubjects,

and that the ſmall remains of his army which were encamped a few miles from *St. Albans*, were diſperſed at this news. Unhappily for the earl, his detachment from the garriſon of *Calais* had by his orders marched towards the ſea, and were no longer capable of being ſpeedily recalled. In the inquietude he could not help feeling for his own ſafety, in the midſt of a town where he was in fear leſt the queen's commands would be more reſpected than his own, he ſaw no other way he could chuſe, but to take advantage with the duke of *Clarence* of the happineſs of being firſt informed, by flying as faſt as their horſes could carry them.

But this diſappointment was not leſs terrible to *Margaret*. It was true that *Edward* had eluded the archbiſhop of *York*'s vigilance, if he had not gained him by his promiſes, as ſeveral hiſtorians pretend. This prelate had ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, that he could run no hazard in permitting the king to hunt on foot in *Middleham* park, and therefore cauſing him to be guarded only by twenty men, he had allowed him this amuſement from the day after his arrival. As a great part of the county belonged to the earl of *Warwick*, *Edward* could have no hopes that his enemy's vaſſals would aſſiſt him in his flight;

flight; but knowing the country, he in a few words gained one of his guards by promiſing him a reward equal to the ſervice, and ſent him to inform a neighbouring gentleman, whom he knew to be attached to his intereſt, to come under the wall of the park with two horſes. Nothing was more eaſy than his climbing up the wall in the ſight of his guards, who thought the deſire he expreſſed to do this, was nothing more than a frolic. He was immediately mounted on horſeback without any other guide beſides the gentleman whoſe fidelity had anſwered his expectations; when ſcarce allowing themſelves time to give their horſes any refreſhment on the road, they made their way to *London* with incredible diligence. Thoſe who accuſe the archbiſhop of *York* of having violated the confidence repoſed in him by his two brothers, relate the matter very differently. Some believe that he was reduced by the queen, and that this princeſs after having prevailed on the earl of *Warwick* to ſpend ſome days at *St. Alban's*, in order to enter into a conference with her, immediately diſpatch'd a very artful *Iriſhman*, whoſe name was *Dillon*, to the archbiſhop, who perſuaded this prelate that ſince his brother had reſolved to accommodate matters with the queen, he ought to ſeize the preſent opportunity of reconciling himſelf to

the king. Others attribute his weakneſs to nothing but his ambition, that ſuffered him to be dazzled by *Edward*'s promiſes and engaging behaviour. However that be, this prince having met the Lord *Haſtings* while he was paſſing thro' *Yorkſhire*, gave him orders to raiſe ſome forces with all poſſible diligence, and it was a rumour of their approach, as much as the news of the king's liberty, that diſperſed the remains of the earl of *Warwick*'s army.

Though *Margaret* had been ignorant of all theſe circumſtances, yet the revolution in the capital, of which ſhe was a witneſs, and the coolneſs of a great number of her party, would have been ſufficient to inſpire her with a diſtruſt of her ſituation; her apprehenſions redoubled on ſeeing the guard of the tower changed, and *Edward*'s emiſſaries diſperſed in all parts of the city to take informations with the greateſt care. She did not doubt but they would penetrate into the motions made in her favour; and her confidents having entertained the ſame ſuſpicions, nothing appeared of ſuch real importance as their putting the prince of *Wales* into a place of ſecurity. The archbiſhop of *Narbonne* was returned to *France*, but he had left part of his equipage in *London*, with the ſole view of favouring the paſſage

of

of the queen and prince, if they ſhould be forced to have recourſe to flight. They therefore ran the hazard of a journey that was leſs dangerous than their ſtaying longer in *London*. However, the queen's regret at ſeeing herſelf deprived of ſuch agreeable hopes, made her ſeize the leaſt ſhadow of what ſhe thought capable of reviving them. She was informed on the road that the earl of *Warwick* and the duke of *Clarence*, having overtaken the troops they had ſent to *Calais*, were marching back, and ſtill flattered themſelves with increaſing them ſo much by ſpeedy levies, as to give the king ſome diſturbance, before he could have time to increaſe his own. This was enough to make her ſtop at a houſe in *Kent*, on the duke of *Somerſet*'s anſwering for the fidelity of the maſter. In ſo uncertain a ſituation ſhe durſt not keep her ſon with her; but taking advantage of her being near the ſea, ſhe ſent him to *Boulogne*, under the care of the duke.

The earl of *Warwick* had in reality intruſted a young lord, ſon to the lord *Wells*, to levy forces in a county in which he knew that he had great credit. This young man's zeal made him execute his commiſſion ſo happily, that in a few days he was at the head of twelve thouſand men; and the earl, on his

ſide, ſparing no pains in aſſembling thoſe of his party, *Edward*, who had yet but a very ſmall army, thought himſelf threatened with a danger more preſſing than that he had the happineſs of being delivered from; and his rage at ſeeing his enemies ſo obſtinately bent on his ruin, made him commit an action as cruel as it was unjuſt. He revenged himſelf on young *Wells* by beheading his father, a venerable old man, who came to court on his firſt orders, and who thought much leſs of ſupporting his ſon in his rebellion, than of ſaving himſelf by his excuſes and ſubmiſſions. This inſtance of barbarity nevertheleſs turned to *Edward*'s advantage, by the imprudent rage into which it threw the ſon, who kept no meaſures in ſeeking to revenge his father. Inſtead of waiting for the earl of *Warwick*, or taking a compaſs in order to join him, he raſhly advanced towards the king's army, which was augmented by its being joined by the forces raiſed by the lord *Haſtings*. *Edward*, who alſo ſought for him, in order to prevent his ſuppoſed deſign of joining the earl, met him near *Stamford*. The engagement was bloody; but tho' *Wells* performed prodigies of valour, he was not ſo happy as to find the death he ſought for, with his ſword in his hand; for after having ſeen ten thouſand of his men fall about him, he was taken by the

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too merciful conquerors, who only prolonged his life to make him loſe it on a ſcaffold.

His misfortune was felt by the earl of *Warwick* from the conſternation into which it threw his forces, and he had the vexation to hear the lord *Stanley*, one of his principal officers, declare, that he had not ſuch a fondneſs for glory, as by ſeconding the frenzy of a rebel, expoſe himſelf to the continual danger of falling a prey to the hangman. This ſpeech ſpread thro' the earl's army, and compleated their diſcouragement, ſo that he found himſelf expoſed not only to the danger of falling into the hands of the conqueror, who advanced towards him with the utmoſt diligence, but to be delivered up by his own ſoldiers, who already began to think of this black piece of treachery. The certainty with which he knew this particular made him chuſe the night to ſave himſelf by ſea, with the duke and dutcheſs of *Clarence*. This lady, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, was ſo alarmed at the danger, that the inſtant ſhe ſet her foot in the veſſel, ſhe was delivered of a prince, to whom they gave the name of *Edward*.

On the other hand, *Margaret*, who was at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the earl, that ſhe was

immediately informed of his departure, did not defer for a moment getting on board a veſſel that was kept ready for her on the coaſt; ſo that it was a ſingular example of the ſport of fortune, to ſee flying in this diſorder, and from places at ſo ſmall a diſtance, the chiefs of two enterprizes that had nothing in common, tho' they were overthrown by the ſame blow, and yet one of theſe could not have ſucceeded without drawing ruin on the other; it muſt nevertheleſs be imagined, that both had the ſame reaſon to complain of fortune, and that *Edward*'s happineſs was the only obſtacle to which they were obliged to ſubmit. But other and ſtill deeper obſcurities were prepared for them, that gave occaſion to other errors. The earl of *Warwick* retired with his uſual confidence to *Calais*, and nothing could have made him ſuſpect that this place of retreat was ſhut againſt him. What then was his ſurprize on his drawing near the coaſt to ſee the great guns pointed at him! Yet notwithſtanding this the faithful *Vauclere* ſtill commanded in that place. The rage the earl felt at being treated ſo unworthily would have made him engage in ſome extravagant enterprize, if he had not had the dutcheſs, his daughter, to take care of; but her condition rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to moderate his reſentment, and he was even

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forced to ſtifle his complaints, and to make uſe of ſubmiſſions and entreaties to prevail on *Vauclere* to ſend ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for the ducheſs. *Philip de Comines*, who was then in *Flanders*, and had ſometimes occaſion to go to *Calais*, relates, that all the aſſiſtance he could obtain from *Vauclere*, conſiſted only of two flaggons of wine. However, making uſe of one in whom he could confide, to carry this trifling preſent to the earl, he ordered him to be informed, that he was always the moſt faithful of his friends, and that it was his zeal for his ſervice that made him treat him with this rigour; that in the circumſtances the town was in, his government was not a ſafe retreat; and that from reaſons which he ſhould reſerve to be explained at another time, he adviſed him to land in ſome port of *France*. *Comines* adds, that *Edward*, who could not penetrate into *Vauclere*'s motions, was ſo charmed with theſe appearances of his fidelity, that he immediately gave him the government of *Calais*; and the duke of *Burgundy*, who was not leſs inſenſible of the zeal he thought he diſcovered for his brother-in law, ſettled on him an annual penſion of a thouſand crowns. However, *Warwick*, comforted by the explanation he had received, did not doubt, but that by ſeeking ſhelter in *France*,

France, he ſhould be favourably received by *Louis* XI. who had entertained a particular eſteem and friendſhip for him. But his veſſel being only a packet-boat, he had no ſooner put again to ſea, than a guſt of wind brought it in danger of ſinking. The fears of the dutcheſs and ſome other ladies who were with her, would have obliged him to gain without farther conſideration the neareſt coaſt, if he had not perceived a *French* veſſel, whoſe bulk rendered her more capable of reſiſting the ſtorm, and which appeared to ſail, as well as he, towards the coaſt of *France*. He was forced by the cries of the ladies to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to come up with her; and being informed that ſhe was bound to *Dieppe*, he deſired the captain to receive three ladies, who were his two daughters and his ſiſter; and fearing as much to ſully his glory, by appearing terrified at a danger that had frightened the women, as to run the hazard of loſing his head by raſhly confiding in a ſtranger, he reſolved, in conjunction with the duke of *Clarence*, to finiſh their voyage in the ſame veſſel.

Fortune could not have continued her caprices in a more fantaſtic manner. In this veſſel was queen *Margaret*, who was ſailing to *France* with the duke of *Exeter* and ſome other lords,

lords, who ſtill adhered to their unhappy conſtancy in following her. Their hatred to the earl made them avoid being ſeen, when they perceived him talking to the captain about his taking the ladies into his ſhip. But a ſenſation of natural compaſſion not permitting him to refuſe the dutcheſs of *Clarence* in the ſituation ſhe was in, they conſented to the captain's receiving her and the other ladies; and being reſolved not to trouble her with her preſence, they appeared indifferent about her being accompanied by the duke and the earl, of whom they had not the leaſt apprehenſions. However, this coolneſs which would perhaps have laſted all the reſt of their voyage, if theſe two lords had choſe to go with the ladies, was ſoon changed to curteſies and familiarity, as ſoon as they appeared in the veſſel without them. The lady *Nevill* did not think that her former reſentment would ſuffer her to diſpenſe with her paying her duty to the queen; and that princeſs not being able to defend herſelf from the pleaſure ſhe felt on ſeeing the earl's daughter, whoſe affection for the prince her ſon ſhe was well acquainted with, their friendſhip ſoon became as ſtrict as if it had never been interrupted. It was doubtleſs in ſome of the converſations they had together on the common ſtate of their affairs, that they formed the plan of the ſtrangeſt

event

event yet related in a hiſtory ſo fruitful of adventures. I have no need of making uſe of any precautions to diminiſh the reader's aſtoniſhment, ſince I have nothing to mention but what is verified by the teſtimony of all hiſtories.

There is not any hiſtorian to be found, who has taken the pains to inform us, which of the earl of *Warwick*'s two daughters had been diſhonoured by *Edward*; and as we cannot imagine that it was ſhe who married this prince's brother, I am the more inclined to adhere to the opinion of an *Engliſh* writer, who ſuppoſes that the earl had three daughters, than to ſully by the leaſt ſuſpicion the character of the amiable *Anne Nevill*. Beſides, her age juſtifies this conjecture; for ſhe being as young as the prince of *Wales*, who was then but fourteen, how was it poſſible for her to be the ſubject of an unhappy adventure that happened many years before? Her character is another proof in her favour, for her virtue was not leſs praiſed than her perſonal charms.

The queen, in the midſt of her moſt gloomy reflections, took ſuch pleaſure in ſeeing her, that growing neither weary of her converſation nor her preſence, ſhe entertained herſelf in

in the moſt agreeable manner with diſcourſing with her till her arrival at *Dieppe*. As ſhe could not help ſpeaking of the voyage her ſon had made to *Calais*, ſhe inſenſibly drew from her the ſecret of this prince's amour. He ſaw her firſt at *Paris*, and immediately formed the deſign of pleaſing her; and he applied himſelf to this with an addreſs that ſeemed to ſurpaſs his age. This happened at the time when the earl of *Warwick*'s hatred was ſo far unbent as to ſuffer him to make an offer of his ſervices to the queen. The young prince, who was not wholly ignorant of this negotiation, took occaſion to make known his ſentiments to the earl's daughter, and being already ſenſible of the rank to which he was born, he declared to her, that he only wiſhed her father's reconciliation with the queen, that he might find himſelf authorized by the gratitude he ſhould owe the earl for his ſervices, to ſhare at one time or other his crown with his daughter. *Anne*, in making this confeſſion to the queen, modeſtly added, that ſhe had been very far from ſuffering herſelf to be dazzled by this hope; but yet not being able to deny her ſenſibility in making a return to the prince's paſſion, ſhe flattered ſtill more the heart of *Margaret*, by confeſſing, that if ſhe was charmed with any thing, it was rather with her ſon's merit

merit than with his grandeur. The queen being greatly amuſed with this ingenuity, would know what they had agreed upon, and what were their hopes, ſuppoſing, as they were but too much threatened, that *Edward* continued firm on the throne. Here the earl's daughter, after ſuffering herſelf to be preſſed, begg'd pardon of the queen for a ſentiment, which ſhe ſcarcely dared to expreſs. But being forced by her orders, ſhe acknowledged ſhe ſaid, that far from wiſhing the prince's re-eſtabliſhmeet, her only deſire was, that he might continue in a private ſtation, becauſe as ſhe was in love with nothing but his perſon, ſhe ſhould think her affection much better authorized by the reſemblance of their fortune.

This converſation, which I have only tranſlated, and which I don't think at all improbable in a private perſon, was ſo very agreeable to the queen, that turning it into raillery with the other ladies, ſhe equally praiſed the wiſdom and good ſenſe of *Anne Neville*. They happily arrived at *Dieppe*, and the two lords, who from the lightneſs of the packet-boat had landed four hours before them, waited for the ladies at the port. But what was their aſtoniſhment at ſeeing the queen ſtep out of the veſſel accompanied by the lady

Nevill

Nevill and her niece, who appeared to preſs about her with as much affection as reſpect, and who had even all that air of freedom which joy gives to the behaviour. This was not a time to liſten to their hatred, which might prompt them to treat her with the moſt groſs incivility. The duke and the earl both offered their hand to *Margaret*, which ſhe accepted, ſmiling in ſpite of herſelf, at ſo ſtrange a meeting. It was neceſſary for them to reſt a little after the fatigues of the ſea, and in this time the converſation took ſuch a happy turn, that in leſs than an hour the queen and the earl of *Warwick* not only forgot their reſentment, ſo far as to unite themſelves by the reciprocal ties of intereſt and friendſhip, but cemented this union by conſenting to a marriage between the prince of *Wales* and *Anne Nevill*. The prince was gone from *Boulogne* to *Paris* with the duke of *Somerſet*; and they only referred the execution of this unaccountable treaty, till they had the conſent of the king of *France*, which they thought themſelves obliged to obtain, and who was then at *Amboiſe* with all his court. The queen promiſed the earl to go thither, after a ſhort viſit which ſhe had thoughts of paying to the king of *Sicily*, her father.

If the reader recollects all the reaſons they had to deteſt each other, and by what progreſſive ſteps their hatred had ariſen to the utmoſt height, he cannot be ſurprized at my repreſenting this event as one of thoſe extraordinary turns of fortune that cannot receive the leaſt appearance of probability, either from the number or the gravity of the witneſſes, and that do not appear the leſs incredible, after our being convinced of their certainty. The *Nevilles* had made profeſſion of being the declared enemies of the queen, from the time that ſhe was ſet on the throne; and their antient connections with the duke of *York* attach'd them as much to the intereſt of his houſe, as their reſentment againſt that of *Lancaſter*. The earl had killed with his own hand the firſt duke of *Somerſet*; and it was by his order that *Montague*, his brother, had beheaded the ſecond. What inclination ſoever theſe might have to defend *Margaret*, there does not appear the leaſt doubt of their being both of them her lovers. Could there need any other proof of it, than the cruel revenge ſhe took on the earl of *Saliſbury*? *Warwick* had regarded this as ſuch a mark of perſonal hatred; and all the enterprizes he afterwards engaged in to ruin her and her huſband, were conducted by as much fury as courage.

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The ſnare ſhe had laid for him in a perfidious negotiation, to rob him of what was moſt dear to him, was another outrage that had redoubled all his tranſports. Nothing but his love would have made him heſitate about his continuing to cheriſh ſuch furious ſentiments when he thought of ſeeking her aſſiſtance to revenge *Edward*'s treachery, of which he was ſtill more ſenſible. But having at laſt conquered his paſſion for *Elizabeth*, he found that his heart was again filled with all that poiſon which he had ſo long nouriſhed againſt the queen; and if he had only preſerved a deep ſenſe of his father's puniſhment, it would have been ſufficient for ever to have prevented ſo proud a man's eraſing from his mind the bloody marks of his hatred and rage. With reſpect to *Margaret*, the motives on which theſe paſſions were founded, were ſtill more powerful, ſince to the inveterate reſentment cauſed by a thouſand offences, ſhe added the grief ſhe ſtill felt for her own ruin and the captivity of her huſband, which was the earl's work alone; and what was perhaps capable of making a ſtill greater impreſſion on her, the proof ſhe had given him that ſhe had always ſought his ruin, and had therefore as little room to expect the extinction of his hatred, as to believe him capable of expecting a ſincere reconciliation.

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But the hearts of the great have properly only one paſſion, to which all the others are ſubſervient, and for the ſake of which they are commonly ſacrificed; that is, the preſent intereſt, whatſoever it be: that of the queen, as well as the earl's, at that time equally conſiſting in the ruin of *Edward*, it made them forget whatever appeared to them to be foreign to it, and of which they were conſequently leſs ſenſible.

I ſhould add to theſe reflections another ſubject of aſtoniſhment, if I did not find amongſt hiſtorians a great variety of opinions about what ſeems to me capable of exciting it. By the treaty between the queen and the earl, the duke of *Clarence* became brother-in-law to the prince of *Wales*, by his being related to the earl of *Warwick*; and doubtleſs there could not be a ſtranger knot than that which bound the preſumptive heir of the crown to the mortal enemy of his own family and his peculiar claims. But tho' many hiſtorians attribute this event to the umpire the lady *Nevill* ſtill preſerved over the duke; yet others aſſert with more probability, that they having approved contrary to his inclinations, of a contract againſt which his oppoſition would be of little weight; he from that moment

ment formed reſolutions which we ſhall ſoon ſee him execute; tho' thoſe who are of a different opinion, place them much later, and attribute them to different cauſes.

Margaret being ſet out for *Angiers*, where her father had obtained leave to return; the earl of *Warwick*, who was obliged to give the dutcheſs of *Clarence* ſome time to recover her ſtrength, reſolved not to remain idle at *Dieppe*, while his family made their abode there. *France* was not upon better terms with *Charles* the new duke of *Burgundy* than with the duke of *Brittany*; and theſe princes not confining themſelves to the embarraſment they gave the king their ſovereign by land, had ſent ſome privateers into the channel who ſpread terror over all the coaſt. This, together with a kind of indignation which the earl could not help feeling, when he thought of the riſk he had run from the *Flemiſh* veſſels, who from the ſtrict alliance between their maſter and the king of *England*, would not have failed delivering him up to *Edward*, if they had ſurprized him in a defenceleſs condition, which made him think of making a conſiderable merit with *Louis* XI. by ſcouring the coaſts of theſe incommodious viſiters. He therefore ſpeedily equipped two veſſels in very indifferent order, which he found in the port

port of *Dieppe*, and chuſing out of the garriſon of the city and caſtle two hundred of the moſt reſolute fellows, reſolved to give chace to the enemies of *France*. And in this attempt fortune ſo happily ſeconded his courage, that having ſunk ſome to the bottom, he ſeized a merchant-man on her return from *Italy* to *Flanders*, laden with immenſe wealth. Beſides the advantage he obtained in the preſent low ſtate of his fortune from the generoſity of the king, who made him a preſent of this rich prize, his inclinations to gallantry were gratified by his reſtoring to liberty a young lady of *Florence*, who contrary to her inclinations, had been delivered up by her parents to a merchant of *Bruges*, who loved her with ſuch an extravagant paſſion, that from the deſpair of not being able to gain her affections, he bought her of her father for the ſum of thirty thouſand marks, which was the principal part of his fortune. However the earl, who learnt from herſelf the violence that was done her, and the extreme averſion ſhe felt for her lover, did not heſitate about delivering her from ſo dreadful a ſlavery, and utterly diſregarded the deſpair of her tyrant, who threw himſelf into the ſea on her being torn from his arms. The earl entered the port of *Dieppe*, more ſatisfied at having ſaved one of the moſt beautiful women

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in the world from oppreſſion, than at the rich booty he had taken from the king's enemies. But what would he not have done, if he could have penetrated into the conſequences, he requeſted of this beautiful ſtranger, as a mark of her gratitude, according to the cuſtom of chivalry which was ſtill held in honour, the permiſſion to conduct her to *Amboiſe*, where he deſigned to preſent her to the king as the moſt glorious fruit of his ſucceſs?

Having made *Paris* in his way, he could not help being extremely delighted at the acclamations he received all along the road, for the important ſervice he had done the ſtate. He had acquitted himſelf of the obligation he was going to receive from the nation, before he obtained the favour which would have demanded his gratitude. But he was not the leſs ſenſible of the pleaſure of finding the prince of *Wales* ſo paſſionately fond of his daughter; for the unexpected news of his approaching marriage threw this young prince into ſuch tranſports of joy as ſeemed to threaten his life. The queen, his mother, in ſending him notice of her arrival did not think proper to let him know her treaty with the earl before ſhe had communicated it to the king; with whom ſhe was deſirous of

procuring herſelf a favourable reception by giving him this mark of reſpect; and the earl himſelf, who paſſed through *Paris* on his own particular affairs, did not think of mentioning it before he rejoined *Margaret* at *Amboiſe*. But his daughter had motives that were inconſiſtent with this ſlowneſs; ſcarce was ſhe arrived at *Paris*, when taking advantage of the lady *Nevill*'s friendſhip and care, ſhe ſent the prince a letter; but the informations it contained being expreſſed in very indeterminate expreſſions, and he underſtanding nothing certainly but the arrival of his miſtreſs, he had no other impatience beſides that which aroſe from his deſire to ſee her. But the duke of *Somerſet*, who held the place of his governor, regarded this viſit as a ſtep that was in itſelf far from indifferent; and oppoſing it, by alledging all the arguments his reaſon could ſuggeſt, gave the two lovers the moſt ſenſible uneaſineſs they were capable of receiving. In ſhort, the earl perceiving the agitation his ſiſter and daughter were in on this occaſion, learned the cauſe, and was ſo far from condemning it, that he took on himſelf the taſk of communicating to the prince, a reſolution which he did not imagine could have ſo greatly affected him. His viſit threw *Somerſet* into a new perplexity: He trembled for the precious charge the queen had

had intruſted to his care, and ſcarcely dared receive a terrible enemy whoſe intentions he was unable to diſcover: His diſtruſt ſtill increaſed, when receiving him firſt without being accompanied by the prince, he heard him ſpeak of an engagement which ſeemed to be void of the leaſt appearance of probability: And tho' the opinion he had conceived of this great man, would not permit his believing him capable of a baſe artifice, he for a long time reſiſted appearances that might ſerve only to conceal the prince's danger; but theſe alarms were at laſt diſſipated, and the prince of *Wales*'s joy gave him freſh reaſon to congratulate himſelf on their accommodation.

He did not at this time perceive, that the duke of *Clarence* behaved with more coolneſs than formerly, and being accuſtomed to conſider him as a friend bound to him as much by their common enterprizes, as by the nature of their kindred, he continued to behave to him with the ſame confidence. However, the duke's diſpoſitions were changed, he could not bear to think of the engagements his father-in-law had entered into contrary to his intereſt, and oppoſite to the very motives on which he had been prevailed upon to engage in his quarrel. And

whether his reſentment gave him an averſion to whatever belonged to the earl; or whether on the contrary, having begun to feel an indifference for the lady *Nevill*, the ſhame of his inconſtancy ſerved more and more to irritate him, he ceaſed ſeeing her, in order to attach himſelf to the *Italian* whom the earl took to *Amboiſe*. This was a new ſeed of diviſion, tho' appearances were yet ſo well kept up as to prevent a diſcovery. The earl had loſt his wife at *Calais* the year before, and his inclinations to gallantry being not confined within the ſame bounds of decency, he was not ſo quick ſighted as the duke, who had at the ſame time the dutcheſs his ſpouſe, and his old miſtreſs to manage. He was therefore under no manner of reſtraint, but amuſed his fair ſtranger at *Paris* with all kinds of pleaſure; while the duke of *Clarence*, agitated by his new ſentiments, was reduced by the ſituation of his affairs, to commit a violence on himſelf in order to diſguiſe them.

They did not fail to repair together to *Louis*'s court, where they found the queen, who had already ſent for the prince of *Wales*, who was now with her. *Louis* was too much irritated, by the ſuccour of men and ammunition *Edward* had ſent againſt him to the duke of *Brittany*, not to ſeize with avidity

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ſo favourable an opportunity of retaliating the offence; he received therefore not only the queen, but alſo the lords who were reunited, and compoſed her train, with the marks of the moſt lively affection; and not confining himſelf to a fruitleſs pity, he offered to contribute as much as was in his power, to the re-eſtabliſhment of their enterprizes, and the reparation of their fortune. His favours and marks of diſtinction were in a peculiar manner conferred on the earl of *Warwick*, whom he aſſured, that whatſoever deſign he was willing to attempt, he would always find in *France* both aſſiſtance to undertake it, and applauſe after his ſucceſs. The *Flemiſh* veſſel, whoſe cargo amounted to ſixty thouſand livres, a ſum at that time very conſiderable, was generouſly given him; and *Louis*, whoſe cold and reſerved air did not prevent his knowing how to confer an obligation in a very gallant manner, added, that in making this preſent to the earl, he was ſtill obliged to diſcharge his gratitude after having rewarded the ſervice.

Margaret, therefore, in laying before this prince the new views ſhe had formed at *Dieppe*, could not fail of finding that he approved them. The treaty was concluded in his preſence with all the formalities that could

have been uſed in the marriage of his own ſon. The earl of *Warwick*, and even the duke of *Clarence*, who was too deeply engaged to be able to ſhake off the yoke ſo ſuddenly, gave a promiſe under their hands, to take up arms as ſoon as they ſhould have finiſhed their preparations, and not to lay them down till they had fixed *Henry* of *Lancaſter* again on the throne, to be poſſeſſed by him and his heirs. A clauſe was nevertheleſs added to this article, which the earl of *Warwick* propoſed to the king and queen without being ſollicited by the duke. He was willing to prevent the reflections which he thought would yet be made him, and which he himſelf was ſurprized that he had never heard from his ſon-in-law. It was therefore ſtipulated, that if *Henry* and the prince of *Wales* died without iſſue, the crown ſhould devolve to the duke of *Clarence*, or young *Edward*, his ſon, who was born in croſſing the ſea. The adminiſtration of the kingdom till the Prince of *Wales* became of age, was promiſed by the queen to the two lords, who in this treaty repreſented the king, her huſband. In ſhort, *Louis*, alſo becoming a party in the engagement, promiſed that on his ſide he would equip a fleet, which ſhould be ready in ſix months, the command of which ſhould be

be given to the earl of *Warwick*, for the execution of ſo great a deſign.

At the time when every thing ſeemed to favour the queen's deſires, ſhe was informed by the earl of *Warwick*, that an *Engliſh* lady was arrived at *Calais*, charged with ſeveral commiſſions at the court of *France*; and that *Vaucler*c, from whom he had received this intelligence, did not doubt but that it was to propoſe terms of accommodation to the duke of *Clarence* and himſelf. She could not perſuade herſelf to believe, that *Edward*, after the laſt outrage he had received from the earl, could ſeek his friendſhip; but diſguiſing her thoughts, ſhe contented herſelf with remarking, that it was much more likely, that this deputation was only ſent to the duke of *Clarence*, his ſon-in-law, and that this ſuſpicion was ſufficient to make them behave towards him with great reſerve. In effect, the lady *Trott*, who arrived a few days after, and who was the perſon *Edward* had choſe to deliver his orders, confeſſed to this princeſs that ſhe was ſent to make the duke aſhamed of the fidelity he had juſt ſworn to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and that the intimacy which had ſubſiſted between her and the dutcheſs of *Clarence*, having made the king believe that he might open his mind freely to

her, he had intruſted her with ſeveral important ſecrets.

This faithful friend to *Margaret*, being arrived in the evening at *Amboiſe*, ſhe choſe the night as the propereſt time to procure a conference with her. She rejoiced at her having been choſe by *Edward*, on an occaſion where the confidence he had placed in her, put her in a condition not only to perform ſome ſignal ſervices for her queen, but to ſave her from the many dangers, with which ſhe believed that ſhe was threatened: And flattering herſelf that her artifice deſerved a more honourable name than that of treachery, ſhe inſtantly informed her, that beſides the ſollicitations ſhe was to make uſe of to the duke to engage him to return to *England*, ſhe had orders to engage him by extraordinary promiſes, to take advantage of the familiarity in which the king, his brother, already knew he lived with *Margaret* and the prince of *Wales*, ſo as to make them fall into the hands of ſome *Engliſh*, who were repaired to the frontiers of *Brittany* with a deſign to ſeize on them. The motives ſhe had to offer the duke are eaſy to be imagined; but nothing was more tempting than *Edward*'s promiſes, ſince he left him either the choice of the adminiſtration of affairs, which he would abandon

don to him without reſerve, or the perpetual government of *Ireland*, for him and his deſcendants, with all the honours of abſolute power. No mention was made of the earl of *Warwick*, as if contempt and hatred had ſucceeded the gratitude *Edward* owed to that hero, and as if the circumſtance of his laſt flight had perſuaded him that he had nothing to fear from ſo impotent an enemy.

The queen was thoroughly ſenſible, by this relation that *Edward* was greatly alarmed at her preparations; but not daring to come to any reſolution with reſpect to the duke of *Clarence*, without having firſt conſulted the earl, ſhe convinced the lady *Trott* that he ought to be immediately called to this council. He trembled at the project of carrying them off, and exaſperated as he already was againſt the duke, he at firſt wiſhed that *Margaret* would give her confidant leave to acquit herſelf of her whole commiſſion, that they might be certain of his true ſentiments by his anſwer; and ſuppoſing that he ſhould conſent to his brother's propoſal, they might puniſh him beforehand for his treachery, in the ſame manner as if he had already committed it. But this heat being cooled by other reflections, he became of the ſame opinion as the queen and her confidant, that it was ſufficient for

her to repreſent on *Edward*'s part, the reaſons he had to break with the enemies of his houſe, and that ſhe ſhould lay before him his brother's two propoſals. This appeared ſufficient to diſcover his diſpoſitions: Beſides, the earl called to mind the intereſt of the dutcheſs his daughter, who would be rendered very unhappy by his coming to an open rupture with her huſband; and this conſideration made him even paſs over other motives, which would have had but too much weight in making him challenge the duke, if he could have had a pretence ſo ſpecious, as that of his horror for his treachery.

The lady *Trott*, therefore, by the queen's order ſecretly repreſented to the duke of *Clarence*, that for him to endeavour to fix *Henry* on the throne, was to betray his own intereſt. His brother had but one daughter, who was the only fruit of his marriage: could he therefore be nearer to the crown? or was the hope of ſucceeding *Henry* after the death of the prince of *Wales*, comparable to the certain claims he derived from his birth, in ſo favourable a conjuncture? Beſides, what injury had he received from the king, his brother, that might not be advantageouſly repaired by his benefits? Theſe reaſons ſeemed to ſtagger him. However, whether he was retained by

the

the ſhame of changing with ſuch ſpeed and levity, or whether, as it is much more probable, his paſſion for the *Italian* lady made him determine to defer it, till after he had obtained the favours he began to hope for, his anſwer was not plain enough to leave room for them to penetrate into his true intentions.

This kind of uncertainty, in which he ſeemed to wrap himſelf, did not deceive the earl. Inlightened by his jealous ſuſpicions he adhered to the laſt of theſe two conjectures; and from this moment began to regard him, both as a traitor, whoſe obſervations were to be dreaded, and as a rival ſo enamoured, as to ſacrifice his political views to love: Under both theſe views he appeared ſo odious, that nothing but his regard for his daughter's intereſt, made him behave with a juſt decorum. However, this made him ſeriouſly reſolve to perſuade the dutcheſs to croſs the ſea with a view to deliver himſelf from this painful reſtraint, as ſoon as he ſhould ſee her re-eſtabliſhed in *Edward*'s favour; from whom it was natural for her to expect whatever ſhe had to hope for, with reſpect to her own, and her ſon's fortune. This reſolution was not contrary to the engagements he had entered into with the queen. On the ſuppoſition of

the ſucceſs he promiſed himſelf from the enterprize in which he was engaged, he could have no reaſon to be uneaſy about his daughter's fate; but as it was poſſible, that his hopes might be unhappily defeated, he found himſelf led by his paternal tenderneſs, to ſecure her a retreat in the place where ſhe ought naturally to ſeek it.

To this motive he added another, in which none but himſelf was intereſted, and which every day became more and more preſſing. His age made him fear that all his reputation and merit would have leſs influence on the heart of his *Italian* lady, than the youth and ſprightlineſs of the duke: And his paſſion encreaſing from day to day, even to ſuch a degree as to diſturb his repoſe, he hoped that the dutcheſs's departure would offer her huſband a new reaſon for haſtening his own, and that he ſhould find himſelf at once delivered from a ſuſpected friend and a dangerous rival. He made the queen reliſh his deſign, by repreſenting it in theſe two lights, which ſeemed to ſuit with their common intereſts. The return of the lady *Trott*, whom this princeſs reſolved to ſend back to *London*, appeared as favourable an opportunity as he could have wiſhed for his daughter: and he managed the affair with ſuch addreſs, that the duke, being told-

ſollicited by his wife, who entered voluntarily into her father's views, conſented privately to her departure, and let her know, that he deſigned ſoon to follow her; while *Edward* ſeeing her arrive with her ſon, eaſily perſuaded himſelf, that he owed this conqueſt to the lady *Trott*, and with the ſame eaſe believed whatever ſhe told him of her negotiation.

In the mean time the *Italian* lady, whoſe name I don't find mentioned by any hiſtorian, ſhewed herſelf more ſenſible of the earl's ſollicitude to pleaſe her, than he durſt have imagined; while by the complaiſance with which ſhe behaved to the duke, ſhe only ſought to diſguiſe her true ſentiments, that ſhe might quicken thoſe felt by a man to whom ſhe was willing to be bound by a more ſolid tie than that of a tranſient gallantry. The earl was a widower; and ſhe flattered herſelf with nothing leſs than inflaming his paſſions to ſuch a degree as to make him marry her. This, indeed, was to forget from whence he had taken her, and what opinion he had reaſon to form of the prudence of a girl, whom he had in a manner ſnatched out of the arms of a lover. She ought therefore to have been ſenſible, that he could only think of making her his miſtreſs; but the

vain

vain imaginations with which ſhe fed herſelf, ſoon ſerved to render her happy with reſpect to love, and to draw from this paſſion more ſolid advantages than from a mere intrigue, which commonly in the life of a hero, is no more than a mere amuſement. Having taken occaſion from the earl's complaints, to let him penetrate into a part of her views, ſhe pretended to juſtify the complaiſance with which ſhe had received the duke, from her deſire to render the queen and the earl an eſſential piece of ſervice, in keeping in *France* by the ties of love, a man who had no other motive for ſtaying there; and proceeding to inform him of the duke's diſpoſitions, ſhe told him that even before his wife's departure, he had propoſed her going with him to *England*, where he promiſed to render her happy by an eternal tenderneſs and conſtancy. She ſet no value on the merit of rejecting theſe offers, except to lead the earl to think, that if ſhe had the leaſt proſpect of obtaining from him what ſhe preſumed to expect, ſhe would continue to amuſe the duke as long as he ſhould think it neceſſary for his intereſt, and render him as ſerviceable in carrying on his enterprizes, as he had room to expect, when he firſt engaged to join with him in taking up arms againſt his brother.

It

It is not ſaid whether the earl ſo far forgot himſelf, as to flatter her vanity by ſome promiſes; but underſtanding that ſhe might really ſerve to attach the duke to him, he was charmed at a propoſal which at once ſatisfied his policy and his love; and whether it be that he took advantage from the neceſſity he was under to aſſure himſelf of her fidelity, that he might from thence place an entire confidence in her, or whether ſhe had the weakneſs to forget her own views, and truſt to vain hopes, after having made him a confeſſion of her ſentiments, he obtained pledges of her tenderneſs, that made him entirely eaſy about the pretenſions of his rival.

After the prince of *Wales*'s marriage, which was celebrated at *Amboiſe* with great magnificence, *Louis* XI. was ſo much in earneſt about the execution of his promiſes, that in much leſs time than he had propoſed, he equipped a fleet at *Havre-de-Grace* under the command of the baſtard of *Bourbon*. The dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, having in this interval run the hazard of returning to *England* to ſtir up the partiſans of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, they returned with aſſurances of the happy diſpoſition in which they found them. *Vauclerc* had on his ſide, put himſelf in

in a condition to ſerve the earl, by dextrouſly diſpatching ſeveral emiſſaries belonging to the duke of *Burgundy*, who ſeemed to have received a commiſſion from *Edward* to watch over the ſafety of *Calais* and the governor's conduct. Thus with the aſſiſtance of the money, which the queen had on all ſides obtained, it ſeemed as if nothing could retard her embarkation, and the execution of her great deſigns, for which ſo many preparations were made. People were aſtoniſhed at *Edward*'s appearing in ſuch tranquillity at the breaking out of the new ſtorm with which he was threatened, that he neglected even to aſſemble an army, and to give orders for guarding the coaſt. This ſecurity, it is probable, could only proceed from his imagining that the earl of *Warwick* would make no attempt without his brother, and from the addreſs with which the lady *Trott* had perſuaded him, not only that this prince would follow his ſpouſe without delay, but that he only ſtaid in *France* ſecretly to traverſe the new deſigns of his enemies. However, tho' theſe reaſons might inſpire part of his confidents, he had another which was much more juſt, and which would have been capable of deſtroying all the queen's projects in their bud, if the earl of *Warwick*'s abilities had not been employed in directing them to a happy iſſue.

The

The duke of *Burgundy*, who could not agree with *Edward* in his opinion of the preparations carried on in *France*, and on the importance of an enterprize conducted by the earl, had brought his brother-in-law to approve his reſolution of ſhewing his zeal by arming all the veſſels of war he had in his ports, and advancing as far as the mouth of the *Seine*, to engage with the *French* fleet, as ſoon as they ſhould be ready to put to ſea. This officious ardour in the duke, ſprang perhaps, leſs from his friendſhip to *Edward*, than his averſion to *Louis*, and the particular reſentment he had nouriſhed againſt the earl of *Warwick*, ever ſince he had ſunk or taken many of his veſſels. He had actually prepared a fleet greatly ſuperior to that of *France*; and the baſtard of *Bourbon* having been informed that it had been ſeen on the coaſt, would not expoſe the king's ſhips to the danger of an unequal combat. This diſappointment vexed the earl, who was already at *Havre-de-grace* with the queen and the prince of *Wales*; and he returned to court to entreat the king not to be diſcouraged at ſo ſlight an obſtacle, but to truſt the event of an engagement to his conduct and courage. Having obtained what he deſired, he made haſte to return to *Havre-de-grace*, and putting

putting out to ſea the ſame night, he the next day with wonderful bravery appeared before the *Flemiſh* fleet, the officers of which had for a long time flattered themſelves that they had blocked him up in the port. He had only nine veſſels againſt ſixteen, but having divided them into three ſquadrons, he with ſuch judgment took advantage of the wind, that having attacked them briſkly on three ſides, he at firſt threw them into a confuſion, which it was impoſſible for them to recover. As they had been far from expecting ſo warm an attack, they had not kept ſuch a diſtance between the veſſels as was neceſſary, in order to their reaping any advantage from their number; ſo that thoſe in the centre were rendered uſeleſs from the narrow bounds in which they were ſhut up; and having no other way of getting ſea-room, beſides the only one which the earl had left open, and by which they could not go out of their ranks without having an impetuous wind in their poop, they only ſerved to embarraſs the others, who were preſſed by the earl with his ordinary impetuoſity. He ſunk four to the bottom, before *Bonneville*, their admiral, clearly perceived the method he ought to make uſe of in his defence: but the wind having ſuddenly redoubled with great fury, the *Flemings* thought proper to fly, and at the ſame

ſame time to take advantage of an incident that ſeemed to excuſe their defeat; and having nothing to do but to ſpread their ſails in order to reach their ports, they ſailed back to publiſh abroad, that the earl of *Warwick* owed his victory to the tempeſt.

The earl, diſdaining the eaſe with which he might have purſued them, returned to *Havre-de-grace* with as much reluctance as he had pleaſure in leaving it; and then without being tempted by the uſeleſs honour of going to receive the applauſe of the court, he gave himſelf only time to wait the end of the tempeſt; and then preſſing the queen to embark, he ſet ſail and happily landed at *Dartmouth*.

He had ſcarce four thouſand men aboard the fleet, for *Louis* had been more faithful than liberal in the execution of his promiſes; as if his only end had been to keep up a diviſion among the *Engliſh*, that by this means he might render them unable to interfere in his own affairs. However, *Warwick* no ſooner appeared on the coaſt with this ſmall body of forces, than he found himſelf at the head of an army, which in a few days amounted to ſixty thouſand men. He immediately, according to his former project, cauſed *Henry* VI. to be proclaimed king, and publiſhed

liſhed in the name of this prince, a proclamation commanding all his ſubjects from the age of ſixteen to ſixty to take up arms, in order to chaſe away the tyrant and uſurper.

Edward, who had ſuffered, ſince his being on the throne, ſufficient proofs of the inconſtancy of fortune, to have learnt from his own experience, to dread the dangers with which he, in his ſituation, was ſurrounded, did not appear at all alarmed at the news of the earl's landing. The remembrance of the circumſtances in which he had been forced to take his flight, and the anſwer he had received from the lord *Stanley*, ſtill perſuaded him, that his revenge would inſpire him with none but impotent deſires. Beſides, he always depended on his brother's return, without whom he could not imagine that any of his ſubjects would dare to take up arms againſt him, while the lady *Trott*'s artifices did not fail to keep up all the prejudices that were capable of increaſing this deceitful ſecurity. But when he had learnt not only that his enemy had been received by the people with an affection that was ſufficiently manifeſt from the numerous army he had already under his command, but that the duke of *Clarence* was with him; that he acknowledged *Margaret* for his queen, and had not ſcrupled to

conſent

conſent to *Henry*'s proclamation, his raſh confidence changed into a conſternation that made him loſe even that courage which had never yet failed him. He gave orders, indeed, for raiſing troops, and appointed them to aſſemble in the plain before *Nottingham*; but trembling every moment at the defection of ſome of his friends; at a loſs to know on whom he could place his confidence, and not daring to truſt his own guards, inſtead of beginning the campaign with the army that had been haſtily raiſed, he ſhut himſelf up at ſome diſtance from the camp, in the caſtle of *Lynn*, a ſmall town in *Lincolnſhire*, ſituated on the banks of the ſea.

Fear, ſo little diſguiſed, only ſerved to ſpread the ſame terror through all the counties that had any inclination to preſerve their loyalty. He could not ſupport the thought of his brother's having undertaken to ſet *Henry* on the throne; and continuing to deceive himſelf with reſpect to what ought to fill him with the moſt juſt apprehenſions, he was ſtill perſuaded, that if he could but gain over the duke of *Clarence*, the reſt were ſo little to be feared, that he had reaſon to rejoice that the earl of *Warwick* was come to deliver himſelf into his hands. Filled with this thought, he once more ſent the lady *Trott*

to renew her endeavours to bring over the duke, and he would have the dutcheſs, his ſpouſe, alſo ſet out to add her ſollicitations.

The duke of *Clarence* had not only paſſed the ſea with the queen, but was as much bent as ſhe could wiſh, on his brother's ruin; he had already inſtilled the ſame ſentiments into all his friends; and in ſpite of the diſtruſt *Margaret* had entertained of his deſigns, ſhe was every day forced, by new proofs, to conſider him as one of her moſt zealous partizans. He muſt have been void of common ſenſe, ſays *Rapin*, ſo fooliſhly to abjure his own intereſt; for one cannot perceive what injury *Edward* had done him to draw upon himſelf this exceſs of hatred. But he was ignorant what ſhare love had in the regulation of the duke's conduct. The *Italian* lady had hitherto kept her promiſe with the earl of *Warwick*; and ſhe ſo artfully managed his rival's hopes, that ſhe ſeemed daily to encreaſe her aſcendency over him. By pretending to return his affection, ſhe brought him to believe, that ſhe only deferred granting him the favours of love till after the ſucceſs of the earl's enterprize: She flattered herſelf that if *Warwick* ſhould be forced to return into *France*, and there to ſpend the remainder of his days in a private ſtation, he would

would then make her his wife; but this was a proſpect which ſhe reſolved to abandon, if he ſhould be exalted to a degree of ſplendor, that would not permit his humbling himſelf ſo far as to accept of her; in this caſe ſhe choſe, if ſhe ſhould be reduced to the quality of a miſtreſs, to give the preference to the duke. Thus the earl's elevation, and conſequently the re-eſtabliſhment of *Henry* and the ruin of *Edward*, appeared to him as ſuch neceſſary conditions of his happineſs, that the deſire of accompliſhing them was proportionable to his fooliſh paſſion; or rather itſelf became a paſſion, to which he was willing to ſacrifice all others. This account might juſtly be taken for an exaggeration, if it was not proved by other of the duke's extravagancies, which laſted as long as his infatuation.

The dutcheſs aceepted *Edward*'s commiſſion only to gain an opportunity to leave him, and rejoin her father and huſband. The queen now thought it neceſſary to keep alſo the faithful lady *Trott* with her; and this double treachery augmented the terrors of the unhappy *Edward*. *Burchier*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Montague*, who after his brother's flight, had found out a way to make his peace with the court, the earl of *Oxford*, the archbiſhop

biſhop of *York*, in ſpite of the favour he had been in with *Edward*, ſince his contributing, at leaſt by his negligence, to his eſcape from *Middleham*; and in ſhort, the greateſt part of the nobility, whoſe example is a kind of law to the people, made haſte to join the queen's army; through which there was ſpread an air of joy and ſecurity that ſeemed leſs a preparation for a battle than the tranquil enjoyment of a bleſſing, the poſſeſſion of which was not to be diſputed. They advanced into *Lincolnſhire*, at ſo ſmall a diſtance from *Edward*'s army that the ſhouts of the ſoldiers might be heard from one camp to the other. Thoſe of the queen never ceaſed crying all the night, *Long live* Henry, Margaret, *and the earl of* Warwick It is ſtill uncertain whether it was fear, levity, or the ſecret practices of ſome of the party of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, that produced the moſt ſingular event that is to be met with in hiſtory; but *Edward*'s army, which was not inferior to the queen's, and which many writers even aſſert to have been more numerous, after having ſpent part of the night in profound ſilence, ſuddenly ſet up the ſame cry. *Edward*, who was attentive to every thing that paſſed about him, was the firſt who heard it, and this he regarded as the laſt ſign of his deſtruction. The plan of the battle concerted

between him and the lord *Haſtings* the day before was inſtantly laid aſide; and no longer thinking of ſaving himſelf by any other means than by flight, he went out of *Lynn* caſtle without any body with him except the duke of *Glouceſter*, his brother, to gain the ſea coaſt. The darkneſs favoured his flight. He happily found on the ſhore a detachment of four or five hundred men, who had been ſent thither to guard a quantity of ammunition and proviſions which had arrived the evening before in three veſſels, from which they had taken out their lading; and the general fear, or ſpirit of inconſtancy, not having yet reached this ſmall corps, he made them immediately embark with him. After the many revolutions already mentioned in this hiſtory, it is obſervable, that if there be any thing more ſurpriſing in this than in the reſt, it is its being attended with almoſt the ſame circumſtances as the flight of the earl of *Warwick*.

We ſhall for ſome time leave *Edward*, who in his turn was deſtin'd to ſuffer very ſurpriſing adventures. Let it be imagined what muſt be *Margaret*'s aſtoniſhment at receiving the ſubmiſſions of thirty or forty thouſand men, whom ſhe thought ready to diſpute her pretenſions the very next day by ſpilling tor-

rents of blood. The rumour of *Edward*'s flight being ſpread abroad almoſt as ſoon as he was embarked, there was no longer any reaſons for diſtruſt, and therefore the queen made no difficulty of advancing with the prince her ſon, to thank her ſubjects for their readineſs in returning to their obedience. The two parties mingled together at the ſame moment, and *Margaret* went in triumph to *London* at the head of a more numerous army than perhaps had ever been ſeen in *England*.

If the queen had any thing to deſire after *Edward*'s ſhameful flight, in order to render herſelf perfect miſtreſs of her dominions, and to enable her to put confidence in the fidelity of her ſubjects, it was granted her by her meeting the earl of *Derby* on the road, who came on the part of queen *Elizabeth*, and brought with the ſubmiſſion of that princeſs, a certain pledge of the obedience of all the partiſans of the dethroned king. *Margaret* was too generous, and had too much ſenſe, not to lament the misfortune of her rival. After having long experienced the weight of adverſity, ſhe could not hear the earl's account without ſhewing marks of her compaſſion. *Elizabeth* lived in the tower when ſhe heard of the flight, and conſequently the ruin of her huſband; and ſome faithful

ſervants

ſervants who compoſed her court, had been of opinion, that ſhe ought not to quit this retreat: for as ſhe might there hope to defend herſelf for a long time, it was neceſſary that ſhe ſhould wait the arrival of her enemies, to diſcover if ſhe had nothing to expect from the affection of the people, or at leaſt to try whether ſhe could not obtain a better compoſition by aſking it ſword in hand. But ſhe knew better than *Edward*, that the earl of *Warwick* was not to be reſiſted by force. She placed her whole confidence in the generoſity of her conqueror, and ſeeking for no other aſſiſtance but what the weakneſs of her ſex required, ſhe choſe to leave the tower in order to take refuge with but few attendants in *Weſtminſter-abbey*. Scarce was ſhe arrived there when the diſorder of her mind cauſed a miſcarriage, which in giving life to a prince, put her own in the greateſt danger. She was in this ſituation when ſhe ſent the earl of *Derby* to the queen, and without mentioning conditions, ſhe deſired him only to attempt to move her, by repreſenting her miſery and her tears.

Margaret, who could as eaſily have reſumed the majeſtic tone which her diſgraces had ſo long forced her to ſoften, as follow the natural emotions of humanity, which ſhe

had always preſerved, proteſted to the earl, that ſhe ſhould bring nothing with her to *London* but deſigns of peace, and was deſirous that *Elizabeth* and all *Edward*'s family ſhould taſte the firſt fruits of it; and then turning towards the earl of *Warwick*, ſhe deſired him to go before to aſſure *Elizabeth* of her friendſhip, and give her her word, that as long as ſhe was diſpoſed to live in a ſtate of tranquillity, there were no marks of diſtinction, and no favours, which ſhe might not promiſe herſelf at her court. The reader is doubtleſs ſurprized at ſeeing her behave with ſuch moderation, after her having frequently appeared too much carried away by her revenge. But beſides having a mind capable of drawing this leſſon from antiquity, ſhe perceived of what importance it was, that ſhe ſhould not inſpire too much terror into thoſe, who from a fear of chaſtiſement were ſtill of *Edward*'s party; without reckoning, that after having ſurmounted her hatred to the earl of *Warwick*, it ſeemed as if ſhe had no other ſenſation that could coſt her any pains to conquer.

However, on the earl's ſetting out, ſhe deſired him to meet her at the tower, where ſhe propoſed to go on her arrival at *London*, that ſhe herſelf might open the gates of *Henry*'s priſon. The marquis of *Montague*, who

who had rejoined his brother, took the command of the army, and this was perhaps the firſt cauſe of diſcontent given by the queen to the duke of *Clarence*: But as ſhe had juſt reaſon to diſtruſt him, prudence would not permit her to put herſelf without precaution into his hands; and from what motives ſoever he continued to oppoſe his brother's intereſt; ſhe was ſenſible that he could not be greatly delighted with what he was going to ſee at *London*. They nevertheleſs arrived there together, and he did not refuſe to go with her to the tower, where the earl of *Warwick* waited to receive them. He had calmed *Elizabeth*'s mind by giving her an account of the queen's diſpoſitions; and tho' he had found all the inhabitants of *London* in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion, he employed the reſt of his time in confirming them in this diſpoſition.

Margaret loſt part of the ſatisfaction ſhe had hoped to receive from reſerving to herſelf the care of acquainting her huſband with the change in his fortune. Whether it was from weakneſs or virtue, this prince received the news of his liberty with a ſigh, as if he was ſorry to leave that ſolitude and repoſe, which they ſeemed to force him to leave in ſpite of himſelf. He had been ſix entire years in priſon. The loſs of his crown had not

drawn from him a ſingle complaint; and yet he could not leave the tower without being ſo moved as even to ſhed tears. But the queen paying little regard to what he thought of his ſituation, deſired him to repoſe on her the cares ſuitable to the preſent change of his circumſtances. She made him mount a horſe, accompanied by the prince of *Wales*, and preceded by the earl of *Warwick*, to ride thro' *London* with an air of triumph. He was followed by a body of four thouſand horſe detach'd from the army; a ſuperfluous precaution, with reſpect to a people, accuſtomed by ſo many revolutions always to follow the current of the preſent neceſſity. Beſides, the face and voice of the earl of *Warwick* was ſufficient to fix the public approbation; and he ſet an example to the multitude by crying at every ſtep, *Long live* Henry *and the houſe of* Lancaſter! What a ſtrange ſight to thoſe who had frequently heard from the ſame mouth, Edward *for ever*, *deſtruction to* Henry *and all his followers*.

The next day all the corporations in the city were aſſembled with the greateſt order and regularity to pay their ſubmiſſions to the king; and even religion became in a manner the ſeal of his eſtabliſhment, by ſolemn prayers and a public proceſſion, at which this

this prince aſſiſted, dreſſed in all the ornaments of royalty. A parliament was immediately called as a neceſſary formality to keep the people in obedience; but before their meeting, which was to be on the twentieth of *November*, *Margaret*, who henceforth repoſed an unbounded confidence in the earl of *Warwick*, reſolved ſuddenly to go to *France* with the prince, her ſon, under the pretence of fulfilling a vow ſhe had made to our lady of *Rouen*, but really with a deſign to concert ſome projects with *Louis* XI. that were to be kept as an inviolable ſecret. This cuſtom of engaging heaven by vows was then ſo common, that the earl of *Warwick* himſelf had made one at *Glaſtonbury*, as *Edward* had before done at *Canterbury*, and it was well known that *Louis* XI. had made a very ſolemn one at *Boulogne*. Religion having ſeldom any power over the minds of the great, theſe exerciſes of devotion were commonly the cloak of ſome political views; and it cannot be doubted, but that *Margaret*, whoſe intereſt required that ſhe ſhould preſerve a ſtrict friendſhip with *Louis*, had thought not only of prevailing on this prince to oppoſe by all poſſible means *Edward*'s new enterprizes, but that he would make uſe of either force or ſtratagem to oppreſs him, in that exceſs of misfortune and miſery, to

which it was already ſaid that he was reduced.

Edward, on his embarking at *Lynn* with ſome lords and a ſmall number of troops, propoſed to ſail for *Ecluſe*, and to ſeek for ſhelter in the ſtates of the duke of *Burgundy*, his brother-in-law; but ſcarce had he loſt ſight of the coaſt when he was chaſed by ſeven or eight *German* pirates, who had ſeemed to wait for their prey. He had the happineſs to be on board a very light veſſel, and by means of a very thick fog, which aroſe towards the middle of the day, he was for ſome time concealed from his enemies; but not daring to advance without great precaution, in a ſea, where the danger was encreaſed by the darkneſs of the air, and where they were conducted by mariners, who, perhaps had never ventured very far from their own coaſts, he fell again in the afternoon into the ſame terrors; when the fog being diſperſed, he perceived the pirates, who continued the chaſe. Their avidity, however, would perhaps have been cooled had they but known what little advantage they had to expect from their labours. *Edward* and his followers were not only without money, but the veſſel they were in being only a tranſport-ſhip, was ſo ill provided with proviſions, that before

before night they had neither bread nor any kind of nouriſhment. However, not being able to eſcape the pirates without redoubling their efforts to gain land, they made to the coaſt with ſo little care that they ſtruck on a ſand-bank, from whence it was impoſſible for them to get off. The *Eaſterlings*, for this was the name the *Engliſh* gave the pirates of *Lower Germany*, becauſe this country lies eaſt of *England*, thought themſelves certain of their prey; and tho' the fear of their ſuffering the like accident forced them to caſt anchor at ſome diſtance, they did not doubt but that they ſhould board the veſſel at the return of the tide. The approach of night would have revived *Edward*'s hopes, if he had not been preſſed by an enemy more dreadful than the pirates; and that was hunger: and this became ſo inſupportable, that the darkneſs having concealed his veſſel, he propoſed getting into the long-boat, and going voluntarily to ſurrender himſelf to the *Eaſterlings*, who could not inflict a greater evil than that he felt already. But the lord *Haſtings* who accompanied him, charmed at ſeeing that he had ſuch reſolution as to tempt the dangers of the ſea in the boat, propoſed his making uſe of it at all hazards to gain the coaſt; though they were ſo little verſed in navigation, that they were abſolutely ignorant of

the place where they were. However, they thought they had perceived land before they met with the accident which ſtopped them, and there being no danger of the boat's reſiſting the waves at a time when the ſea was tolerably calm, they flattered themſelves with eſcaping at once from the ſea, from hunger, and from the pirates.

Edward, followed by the duke of *Glouceſter*, the lord *Haſtings*, and the captain of his veſſel, did not heſitate about truſting his life to the winds and the ſkill of ſome ſailors. They advanced a long time without being certain of their way; but the ſight of ſeveral lights at laſt would not ſuffer them to doubt their being near the ſhore. They had entered, without perceiving it, the road of *Alcmaer*, a town in *Holland*, and rowing to land with confidence, they awaked the guards of an advanced fort, who inſtantly came to take a view of them. Having learnt that they were in *Holland*, they made no difficulty of telling *Edward*'s name, and the neceſſity they were in of ſpeedy ſuccour. *Philip de Grootheyſe*, then governor of *Holland*, under the duke of *Burgundy*, was happily at *Alcmaer*, and made haſte to wait on a prince, who was his maſter's brother-in-law; and being informed of the danger to which the three *Engliſh*

Iſh veſſels were expoſed, he ſent to order the *Eaſterlings* to retire, under pain of incurring the duke of *Burgundy*'s diſpleaſure. Theſe pirates, who were careful of offending not only the duke, but even *Groothuyſe*, under whoſe protection they exerciſed their robberies, left the *Engliſh* at liberty to gain the road to *Alcmaer*.

Edward's gratitude to heaven did not prevent his being ſenſible of his obligation to the captain, whoſe diligence had the day before ſaved him from his enemies, and who had not rendered him a leſs eſſential ſervice in ſaving him from hunger during the night: But in his ſituation the means of recompenſing him was ſo far wanting, that not being poſſeſſed, ſays an hiſtorian, of even a piece of money which bore his image, he choſe to ſtrip off his waiſtcoat, which was made of the fur of martin-ſkins of conſiderable value, and forced the captain to accept it. *Groothuyſe* needed no further explication to render him ſenſible of his wants, and therefore offered him a conſiderable ſum, with which *Edward* offered to buy his waiſtcoat. But the captain conſidering this as a jeſt, kept it as a preſent, that circumſtances rendered much more precious. The generoſity of *Groothuyſe* was nevertheleſs limitted to his furniſhing the

king of *England* with all kinds of accommodations, without daring to offer him veſſels and troops before he was aſſured of his maſter's intentions; he took *Edward* to the *Hague*, where he treated him with leſs magnificence than politeneſs.

If the queen went to *France* to find ſome means of ſurpriſing him in this interval, ſhe could not have choſe a more favourable opportunity; and it is doubtleſs upon this foundation that many hiſtorians attribute to her this deſign. *Louis* XI. had juſt declared war againſt the duke of *Burgundy*, and had already taken from him many places. All that was neceſſary was to give ſufficient employment to the duke, to deprive him of the power of interfering in his brother-in-law's affairs. It being his cuſtom to diſband his forces as ſoon as he had ſigned the peace, he had been forced to aſſemble all his garriſons to reſiſt the king's unforeſeen attack; and thus his coaſts were as ill guarded as his frontiers. *Margaret*'s deſign, it was ſuppoſed, was to prevail on the king of *France*, to ſend ſome veſſels towards the coaſts of *Flanders*, under the pretence of ſeeking an opportunity, to ſeize ſome defenceleſs port, and to cauſe them to take on board in paſſing before *Calais*, four thouſand *Engliſh*, whom the earl

of *Warwick* was to ſend thither, in order to their making a deſcent in *Holland*, where *Groothuyſe* was not in a condition to ſecure his gueſt on an invaſion ſo little expected. Thoſe who adhere to this conjecture, add, that the earl not only ſent four thouſand men to *Calais*, as it had been agreed upon in concert with the queen, but that *Louis* ſent ſeveral veſſels into the channel, and that the only obſtacle that prevented the ſucceſs of this enterprize was the precipitate departure of *Edward*, who growing weary of the duke of *Burgundy*'s ſlowneſs in ſending an anſwer, reſolved to go to him at *St. Pol.* In reality, *Louis* XI. who knew how to diſſemble an inquiry, but who was not eaſily led to pardon it, might have voluntarily ſeized an opportunity of gratifying his antient reſentment againſt *Edward*; and we may even more eaſily conceive that the queen being willing to avoid giving offence to the duke of *Burgundy*, was deſirous of having her troops act under the flag of a king who was at open war with him.

However this be, *Edward*, who was at firſt received cooly enough by the duke, was at laſt in ſafety at his court, when *Longſtrother*, grand prior of the order of *Jeruſalem*, was ſent by the earl of *Warwick* to the

the queen, to prevail on her to haſten her return to *London*. The parliament were aſſembled during her abſence, and all its deliberations concurred in confirming *Henry* on the throne. *Edward* had been unanimouſly declared a traitor, and uſurper of the crown; all his patrimonial eſtates had been confiſcated, and the ſtatutes and proclamations made in his reign annulled as proceeding from the incroachments of a rebellious ſubject. By another act, the right of ſucceſſion, which was confirmed to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, was to devolve in default of male iſſue to that of *York*; but *Edward* and his ſon being excluded on account of his rebellion, the crown was to deſcend to the duke of *Clarence* and his iſſue. In ſhort, with the ſame docility which had led them to approve of all that the earl of *Warwick* had done in favour of *Edward*, they ſubmitted to the new laws of this abſolute diſpoſer of the nation; and that he might have nothing further to deſire, he declared himſelf governor of the kingdom, without any other reſtriction, than aſſociating the duke of *Clarence* in the diſcharge of this employment.

However, while in poſſeſſion of this authority and grandeur, which made the people give the earl of *Warwick* the title of the

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Setter-up-of Kings, he wanted a ſubject of contentment, without which he could not be thoroughly ſenſible of the advantages of his lofty ſituation. He did not communicate his thoughts on this ſubject to the grand prior; and when he preſſed the queen to return to her dominions, it was not to give him an opportunity of opening his mind to her. His heart was diſtracted with an uneaſineſs that humbled his pride as much as it wounded his tenderneſs. Scarce had he ſeen all his projects accompliſhed, when thinking that he might reap the fruit of his labours in the quiet poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs, and the bleſſings of fortune, he perceived that the *Italian* had the ſame complaiſance for his rival as for him. She had kept her word with the duke of *Clarence*; and whether her inclination for him had been always ſincere, or whether ſhe was delighted at finding that ſhe had almoſt an equal power over the two firſt men of the ſtate, ſhe choſe to attach herſelf to both by granting them the ſame favours. She had ſtill the addreſs to impoſe on the duke, but the earl obtained lights that would not permit him to doubt of his having been betrayed. His weakneſs, however, made him imagine his miſtreſs leſs criminal than his rival: He accuſed none but him of the artifices practiſed by a coquette, and already reſolving

ſolving to puniſh him, he waited for the queen only to make her execute his revenge.

Indeed this was not the only reproach he had to make againſt the duke of *Clarence*. While this prince had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far blinded by his fooliſh paſſion, as even to loſe all the ſentiments of natural affection, he had ſeen his houſe overthrown without feeling the leaſt pity for his brother, or regard for himſelf. But ſince he believed that he was ſure of his miſtreſs by the victory he had obtained over her, he began to be ſenſible of the injury he had done himſelf, and his only deſire was to repair it. Thus, without being moved at the act of ſucceſſion which did not place him nearer the throne than he was before; nor with the poſt of governor of the kingdom, which he enjoyed in concert with the earl; he already made uſe of his power and the confidence that was repoſed in him, either privately in favour of his brother, or to heap upon himſelf thoſe fruits which *Edward* did not ſeem in haſte to come to gather. The ſpies the earl ſet to obſerve his conduct, ever ſince he had ſuſpected his fidelity, diſcovered his correſpondence with *Tiptot*, earl of *Worceſter*, and this was the ſecret cauſe of the ſeverity of the parliament, or rather of the earl of *Warwick*, in cauſing this unhappy

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lord to be beheaded. As his crime was his having commanded in the laſt army raiſed by *Edward*, and his not having made ſufficient haſte in returning to his obedience, he did not appear more guilty than a great number of other lords, whoſe ſubmiſſions were not leſs ſlow, nor perhaps more voluntary: But having been informed that they had thoughts of ſeizing his perſon, he fled; and this timid precaution paſſed for the conviction of a crime of which they had no other proof. He was purſued ſo cloſe, that having no other reſource but to conceal himſelf in a hollow tree, he was drawn out, and led to execution.

While the earl of *Warwick* pretended to live on good terms with the duke of *Clarence*, he collected by his emiſſaries all the ſubjects of complaint or diſtruſt, that might contribute to his ruin; and he impatiently waited for the queen, to whom if the duke ſhould fail in his fidelity, it would be ſufficient to unite againſt him thoſe who ſought his deſtruction. However, he could not contain his reſentment till this princeſs's arrival. On his having ſeveral reaſons to ſuſpect the fidelity of his miſtreſs, he had impoſed it upon her as a law, that ſhe ſhould never ſee the duke of *Clarence*: He granted her his favour on this condition, and whatever pretence ſhe made uſe of to prevail

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on the duke to reliſh a life of myſtery and conſtraint, ſhe made him ſubmit to ſee her only in private. The earl was too faithfully ſerved to be long ignorant of this new treachery, and he at laſt reſolved to act a part ſuitable to the greatneſs of his mind; and that was to conquer an unworthy paſſion whatſoever it ſhould coſt him: However, he expreſſed himſelf very plainly to the duke, by telling him, that he was a man who hated the perfidious as much as he deteſted perfidy. This warmth might perhaps have been attended with ſpeedy ill conſequences, if the duke who regarded it as the effect of a lively jealouſy, had not been more pleaſed than offended at his ſentiments; and what is ſtill more ſtrange, he from hence conceived a better opinion of his miſtreſs, and attached himſelf to her with more paſſionate fondneſs than ever.

Margaret learnt from the earl a part of theſe circumſtances before her arrival in *London*, and in ſetting out to meet her, he declared in a reſolute manner, that from the idea he had conceived of her zeal for the welfare of the ſtate, and of her great abilities for government, he was reſolved from henceforward not only to follow her orders in the adminiſtration of affairs, but even to make

make the poſt he had received from the parliament depend on her. It was neither fatigue nor indifference that made the earl expreſs himſelf in this manner: his ambition had never been more active; but he was willing to fix the attention of the public on his rival's conduct; and not expecting that he would be diſpoſed to imitate him, he hoped that he would ſuffer ſuch reflections to eſcape him in his ſurprize as would betray ſome of his ſentiments. Beſides, he could not animate the queen too much againſt a perfidious perſon; he was reſolved therefore to take advantage of her principal foible, by expoſing her to the vexation of ſeeing her authority conteſted by the duke, which would lead her to imagine from the ſtep the earl had taken, that there was no perſon left who would venture to diſpute it with her.

It happened juſt as he had foreſeen; the duke, aſtoniſhed at the diſpoſition the earl diſcovered to quit his employment, proteſted from his firſt emotions that he would not be guided by another's example, and that nothing ſhould make him abandon the authority with which he had been intruſted by the parliament. The queen, who was as much delighted with the politeneſs of the one, as ſhe was offended by the diſcourſe of the other, redoubled her con-

confidence and affection for the earl, ſo far as to declare that ſhe thought him neceſſary to the ſupport of her glory, and that ſhe could not think of holding the reins of the ſtate, by any other hands than his. Perhaps friendſhip did then, what till that Time could only paſs for the work of intereſt and policy. *Margaret*, ſenſible of the earl's complaiſance, ventured to believe for the firſt time that nothing was wanting to complete their reconciliation; and the earl, moved at ſeeing her gratitude ſo ſincere, totally forgot the antient ſubjects of hatred, the traces of which had never been perfectly effaced. I ſhall here avoid mentioning the accuſations that were as injurious to this great queen, as thoſe that had been formerly made againſt her. *Margaret* was no longer of an age in which an ambitious woman could be ſuſpected of ſeeking for amuſement from the pleaſures of love; and tho' the earl always affected a taſte for gallantry, it will perhaps appear from other events, that he was already filled with a new paſſion, by which he ſought to comfort himſelf for the infidelity of his *Italian*; a paſſion which it may be ſuſpected was only a concerted ſcheme which he made uſe of to diſguiſe his true amours: But our having, like ſome hiſtorians, recourſe to this ſubtilty, would be to confeſs that we want proofs,

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and to ſupport ourſelves on conjectures that are more malicious than probable.

The queen having ſought by what new favours ſhe might expreſs her gratitude for the earl's affection, ſhe found none but the poſt of high-admiral, capable of adding to the luſtre of that glory and thoſe dignities with which he was already inveſted; and this office ſhe beſtowed upon him by the united authority of both the king and parliament. This was a great mortification to the duke of *Clarence*, who had openly aſpired to this high poſt; but the ſame reaſons that had induced him to wiſh for it, made them afraid of conferring on him a poſt of this importance. Nothing was talked of but *Edward*'s ſollicitations at the court of the duke of *Burgundy*: and as theſe related to his being put in a condition to attempt a deſcent in *England*, they perceived the danger there would be in giving the command of the navy to his brother. However, tho' the queen as well as the earl of *Warwick* did not doubt that this prince was already unfaithful at the bottom of his heart, ſhe was of opinion that ſhe ought not to ſuffer her ſuſpicions to get wind; and reſolving only to place him at a diſtance, ſhe gave him the government of *Ireland*, with many eſtates that had been forfeited by perſons

ſons belonging to *Edward*'s party. 'Tis true, that by engroſſing all affairs, and executing them by the earl of *Warwick*'s miniſtry, ſhe left the duke only an empty title, the exerciſe of which was incapable of cauſing any diſtruſt. The effect of this policy was her placing the court of *England* in a ſtate of repoſe, which it had not enjoyed for near thirty years.

It was impoſſible for any one to make a better improvement of this ſtate of tranquillity than *Margaret* did, by the care ſhe took to introduce plenty into her dominions, and to recall to *London* arts, ſciences, and pleaſures. Theſe happy children of peace came to breathe for ſome time a free and ſerene air in *England*, and would for ever have fixed their abode there under ſo powerful auſpices, if fortune had been capable of being ſolidly reconciled to the houſe of *Lancaſter*. But in the interval in which they were allowed to ſpread their ſweet influences, they ſerved at leaſt to diſſipate the horror of ſo many bloody wars, the traces of which ſtill ſubſiſted in all parts of the nation. The earl of *Warwick*, led by his natural inclinations to undertake every thing that might contribute to the progreſs of politeneſs, ſeconded the queen's intentions, by giving examples of magnificence

cence and gallantry, which ſerved to eſtabliſh the lady *Nevill*'s fortune, by the opportunity ſhe received of diſplaying her charms at her brother's feaſts, of which ſhe had in a manner the direction. Tho' ſhe was then allowed to be not leſs than thirty-five years of age, and tho' no one could be ignorant of her adventures, ſhe made a conqueſt of the marquis of *Carnarvan*, one of the richeſt lords in the kingdom, who, in ſhort, fixed her condition by a happy marriage.

Of what nature ſoever we are willing to ſuppoſe the earl of *Warwick*'s connection with the queen was, it did not prevent his falling again into ſome weakneſs for his unfaithful ſtranger. Whether it was that being attached only to fortune, ſhe grew cool to the duke of *Clarence*, in proportion as ſhe ſaw his authority decreaſe, or whether a mere ſpirit of coquetry led her to make a new experiment of the power of her charms over a heart which ſhe had loſt in ſpite of herſelf, there was no artifice which ſhe did not employ to regain her aſcendancy over the earl. She even ſucceeded ſo far as to perſuade him, that ſhe ſincerely repented of her infidelity, and beginning to be of the ſame opinion as the duke, that virtue is not the moſt neceſſary quality in a miſtreſs, he pardoned her what

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was paſt, without any other condition than his having an open rupture with his rival. But as the return of ſo light and perfidious a woman could only proceed from a momentary inclination, ſhe ſoon forgot her promiſes, to enrage the earl by new affronts. It is very probable that ſhe had no other deſign but to play upon him, in order to find an opportunity to gratify her own or the duke's revenge, with whom it is ſtill more probable that ſhe had concerted this treachery. The intereſt he had in penetrating into the queen's and the earl's ſecrets, might make him reſolve to reap the ſame ſervice from her, as ſhe had formerly performed againſt him, and which it was impoſſible but ſhe muſt have confeſſed in the familiarity of ſo long an intimacy. It appears certain from her conduct, that ſhewas but little ſenſible of the advantage of her reconciliation with the earl, ſince ſhe never ceaſed to receive him with appearances of friendſhip that were always affected; and the reſentment he diſcovered at the concluſion of this fatal adventure, not permitting us to doubt of her being always dear to him, it ſeems as if this double part could only be explained by the ſuppoſition of ſome political view, that might very well agree with thoſe ſenſations, which I have already remarked were conducted with very little delicacy.

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The fate of a woman without reputation, and who had no other merit beſides much art and beauty, would not have deſerved to be cleared up with ſuch care, if it was not connected with the thread of a hiſtory, capable of ennobling it. There paſſed ſome weeks, during which they had the art to impoſe on the earl, and tho' his ſenſations were far from having their former ardor, he had in earneſt reſumed an inclination and attachment to this unworthy miſtreſs. But one day when he left her, after having ſpent the whole night in her company, he was informed that ſhe went out immediately after him in a riding habit, and thoſe who watched her aſſured the earl that at her leaving *London*, ſhe met with the duke of *Clarence*, with whom ſhe continued her journey. The duke had a country houſe at a ſmall diſtance from the city, where there was no doubt but that ſhe was gone to ſhut herſelf up with him. This was rendering herſelf already criminal in the eyes of the earl, by her ſo ſoon violating her engagements: However, as they might poſſibly have met by chance, he waited her return in order to bring her to an explication, and his eagerneſs made him go to her houſe early enough in the evening to give him an opportunity to wait her return. She came indeed alone.

The earl, who was willingto obſerve her with his own eyes, had forbid her being informed of his viſit, and ſtood in a place where her leaſt actions could not eſcape him. After the geſtures common to her ſex, he ſaw her draw ſome papers out of her pocket, which ſhe read with attention, and then locked them up in the moſt ſecret place in her apartment. He waited till ſhe had done, before he preſented himſelf before her. The air of ſatisfaction and ſincerity which ſhe knew how to aſſume, would ſtill have deceived the earl, if ſhe had been ſo happy as to ſuſpect her having been obſerved at her departure, and had made a merit of freely confeſſing that ſhe had ſeen the duke of *Clarence*. But finding that ſhe ſtood on her guard, as to the manner in which ſhe had ſpent the day, and the intelligence he had received ſuffering him no longer to ſee any thing but diſſimulation and impoſture in her careſſes as well as in her diſcourſe, he found the means of ſeizing without conſulting her the papers ſhe had concealed with ſuch precaution. The efforts ſhe made to ſtop him encreaſed his ſuſpicions: he made himſelf maſter of them in ſpite of her endeavours to prevent him, and amongſt theſe he found one in the duke of *Clarence*'s hand, in which that prince had taken the pains to ſet down the articles on which ſhe was to

found

ſound the earl, and by what means ſhe might dive into his ſecrets. A piece of treachery of ſo black a nature ſuddenly raiſed his fury to the higheſt pitch. He did not ſtay to know whether ſhe had acted in concert with him for a long time, or whether this was the work of the ſame day: but ſtrangled the perfidious creature on the ſpot, with the handkerchief ſhe wore about her neck.

This cataſtrophe was ſo eaſily concealed, that the duke had no other certainty of it, than the ſuſpicion of ſome of her domeſtics, who continued to miſtruſt a death that was made to paſs for a natural accident. But this was enough to prevent his entertaining any doubt of the earl's having diſcovered his intrigue. From this moment he conſidered him as an enemy, whoſe reſentment only waited for a fair opportunity of burſting forth; and adhering entirely to his brother, he wholly employed himſelf in the ſecret intelligence which he had for a long time carried on with him.

This fugitive king had hitherto derived but little advantage from the motions that had been made to re-eſtabliſh his fortune. He poſſeſs'd a vain title in the ſtates of the duke of *Burgundy*, whoſe own embarraſments would

hardly permit his attempting to remove thoſe of another, and who beſides ſaw nothing on the ſide of *England* that could give ſuch ſolidity to his brother-in-law's hopes, as to make him openly declare war againſt thoſe who had ſupplanted him. *Philip de Comines* aſſerts, that at the firſt news the duke received of *Edward*'s arrival in *Holland*, he was unable to diſſemble the thought that it would have given him leſs uneaſineſs to have heard of his death. The houſe of *Burgundy* was moſt inclined to favour that of *Lancaſter*, from whom the duke was deſcended by his mother's ſide, and the alliance he had contracted with that of *York* by his marriage with *Edward*'s ſiſter, was one of thoſe political connections that make no change in the natural inclinations. However, he could not refuſe granting an honourable reception to his brother-in-law, when this prince aſtoniſhed at his ſlowneſs in anſwering him, took the reſolution to go and ſearch for him in the midſt of his court. The dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, *Edward*'s ſiſter, did not fail to employ in his brother's favour all the influence ſhe had over the heart of her huſband. They together repreſented to him a thouſand motives from honour and intereſt, of which hiſtorians give us a long detail: But had he been more ſenſible of their weight, the neceſſity of de-

defending himſelf againſt the attacks of *France*, and the fear of drawing upon him alſo the reſentment of the earl of *Warwick*, were ſuch powerful objections, as in his opinion perfectly juſtified his refuſal. Without depriving them of all hope of future aſſiſtance, he entrenched himſelf in his preſent incapacity, and the unhappy *Edward* had ſtill the mortification of ſeeing him preſerve, even before his eyes, the greateſt precautions with regard to the court of *London*. This was about the time when the earl of *Warwick* ſent four thouſand men to *Calais*. The duke, alarmed at this event, did not doubt of their being ſent to join the *French*, or to favour them by ſome diverſion. He therefore ſent *Philip de Comines* to *Vauclerc*, with orders to expreſs the aſtoniſhment he was in at ſeeing *England* declare againſt him, when he only thought of preſerving a good intelligence with that court; and being ſatisfied with the anſwer *Vauclerc* made to *Comines*, he affected in the end to ſhew leſs regard to *Edward*. As ſoon as he had heard the firſt news of the revolution, he had made haſte to diſpatch the ſame *Comines* to *Calais*, to confirm the truce between that city and the *Netherlands*. *Vauclerc*, who was at laſt returned to the free indulgence of his affection to the earl of *Warwick*, whoſe intereſt he had always ſecretly

ſupported, was then employed in expreſſing his joy by public feaſts. *Commines* himſelf informs us, that having thus found the government, the garriſon, and citizens openly declare for *Henry*, he had no other means of getting happily out of this negotiation, than by letting the inhabitants of *Calais* know, that the truce being not ſo properly made with *Edward* as with the whole *Engliſh* nation, the change of a king was no reaſon for its being broke. This was already to point out very clearly, that his maſter concerned himſelf but little about the revolution.

The earl of *Warwick* was too faithfully ſerved by *Vauclerc* to be ignorant of what paſſed at the duke of *Burgundy*'s court. Seeing nothing to apprehend from abroad, he ſtrove more and more to ſerve the queen's confidence by the uſe he made of the authority which he almoſt ſolely enjoyed. Tho' he appeared to govern with an unlimited power, yet he kept ſuch a perfect intelligence with the queen, that undertaking nothing without her participation, ſhe found the ſame reſpect and ſubmiſſion from him, as he cauſed to be paid her by the whole nation. It was by his advice, that in order to fulfil the promiſes ſhe had made to queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſent to offer her the liberty either of going into *Flan-*

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ders to her huſband, or of appearing at court, on the ſole condition of laying aſide the name of queen, and bearing the plain title of dutcheſs of *York*.

Elizabeth had no occaſion for her fall to make her perceive that happineſs is not inſeparable from royalty. Even *Edward*'s coolneſs and ſeverity had from the firſt year of her marriage, let her feel what ambition ſometimes ſuffers for having dared to cloath itſelf under the appearances of love. She had lived without receiving the leaſt mark of tenderneſs from her huſband, either thro' the opinion that ſhe had no other motive for marrying him beſide the luſtre of the throne, or from the natural inconſtancy of this prince, which made him continually change his miſtreſſes: Nor was ſhe even treated with a proper reſpect by his ſubjects, when they ſaw that ſhe was neglected by her husband, and that he ſpent entire weeks without ſeeing her. She was therefore ſo far from being inclined to follow him into *Flanders*, that ſhe thought herſelf happy, that he went without his making her the propoſal to follow him; and far from being unwilling to renounce the title of queen, ſhe would have wiſhed to have reſumed the name of *Grey*, that ſhe might find again the happineſs ſhe had loſt by changing her

rank and condition. Therefore without accepting the offer of being received honourably at court, ſhe conſented to bear the title of dutcheſs of *York*, and retired to a country-ſeat, where the queen took care that ſhe ſhould want nothing that could tend to ſweeten life.

Another ſubject of *Margaret*'s attention was calling to court all the princes that were left of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, that ſhe might make theſe the friends and defenders of her ſon, by attaching them to him, leſs by her benefits than by the common intereſt of their houſe. The dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet* had been for ſo long a time devoted to him, that whatever ſhe did for them deſerved not ſo much the name of an inducement as that of a reward. But the earl of *Pembroke*, brother by the mother's ſide to the king, and the young *Henry* of *Richmond*, nephew to the earl, were treated with thoſe marks of diſtinction that were due to their birth. Many hiſtorians relate, that young *Richmond*, who had been brought from the *Welſh* mountains, where he had been kept concealed during the reign of *Edward*, preſented himſelf before the king in ſo graceful a manner, that the king was ſtruck with the nobleneſs of his air and countenance. *Henry* could not help admiring,

mining, that a young man who had never appeared at court, had acquired ſo many exterior advantages in the barbarous country from whence he was brought, or that he could be indebted for theſe to nature alone. In ſhort, after having looked upon him for a long time, he felt himſelf inflamed with an extraordinary ardour; and liſting up his eyes to heaven, from whence he believed that he received the impulſe with which he was agitated, he foretold that this prince ſhould one day mount the throne, and that he ſhould terminate the quarrel of the two houſes.

The difficulty here does not relate to the event, ſince nobody is ignorant, that the houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York* were happily re-united twenty years after, by the marriage of the earl of *Richmond*, then in poſſeſſion of the throne, with the princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter to *Edward* IV. But has this prophecy any greater weight than that I have already related? It is worthy, no doubt, of the idea ſeveral hiſtorians would give us of the piety of *Henry* VI. for the earl of *Richmond* being farther diſtant than all thoſe who had any pretenſion to the crown, and even deſcending from the houſe of *Lancaſter* only by a baſtard, whom favourable circumſtances had rendered legitimate, nothing but the light of

heaven could have made him diſcover the elevation to which he was deſtined. But it is unhappily found, that this celebrated fact was unknown till the reign of *Henry* VII. when ſollicitations were made at *Rome* for the canonization of *Henry* VI. The difficulty the pope then made to grant his conſent, proceeding from his ſeeing nothing in the life of this prince that rendered him ſuperior to the common order of nature, doubtleſs inſpired his partiſans with the thought of making him a prophet, and their deſign only failed from their being unable to produce any proofs: This, however, did not prevent the fact being mentioned by all hiſtorians; but if it were neceſſary to chuſe between *Margaret* and *Henry*, to which we ought to attribute the art of penetrating into futurity, I imagine that what has hitherto appeared of their characters, will leave us under no uncertainty on whom to fix.

However, while we recollect that the queen was poſſeſſed of much prudence, courage, and intrepidity, we cannot excuſe her delivering herſelf up too much to a frivolous reſentment, the heat of which did not permit her ſufficiently to perceive its conſequences. The dutcheſs of *Exeter*, *Edward*'s ſiſter, had by her conduct merited not only the indifference

of her huſband, whom ſhe had always treated with diſreſpect, but alſo the averſion of *Margaret*, of whom ſhe had ſpoken in a contemptuous manner, endeavouring to blacken her reputation by ſeveral accuſations. One would imagine that in making ſo many ſacrifices to policy, the queen ought not to have taken ſuch exceptions at ſuch ſlight offences; and that being ſufficiently revenged by the humiliation of her enemy, ſhe might have been ſatisfied by leaving her to be puniſhed by her own regret and confuſion. However, whether ſhe was ſtill more piqued at the pride of the dutcheſs, who retired to her country ſeat to avoid paying her court to her, or whether ſhe only thought of favouring the duke, ſhe reſolved that in the reſtitution of his eſtates, which was confirmed by an act of parliament, there ſhould be no reſerve made in favour of the dutcheſs; probably to put her under the neceſſity of having recourſe either to her or her huſband. Thus finding herſelf ſtripped with much rigour of the great riches ſhe had poſſeſſed in the duke's abſence, ſhe found that ſhe was forced not only to leſſen her train, but even to leave the ſeat to which ſhe was retired. However, her hatred to the queen was attended with ſuch obſtinacy, as made her prefer indigence to thoſe ſupplications which that prin-

ecſs would have extorted from her. She therefore repaired to *London*, where ſhe choſe rather to owe her ſupport to ſome of *Edward*'s rich partiſans, than to have the leaſt obligation either to the queen or her huſband.

Tho' *Margaret*'s reſentment was confined within theſe bounds, it prevented her attending to what ſhe had reaſon to fear from the indignation of the dutcheſs. *London* had always diſcovered an affection to the houſe of *York*, and according to the remark of *Commines*, who was in a ſituation that would not admit of his being ill informed of the affairs of *England*, *Edward* had increaſed the inclination this city had to favour his family, by the happineſs he had obtained of bringing over all the women to his intereſt. It is not ſaid how he came to acquire ſo much favour this way, without offending their huſbands; but all the *Engliſh* hiſtorians agree with *Commines* in mentioning his intrigues with the women of *London*, as producing the moſt powerful aſſiſtance, from whence he reaped all his advantages. Tho' his love of pleaſure conſiſted in variety, he had an admirable art in preventing the fatal effects of jealouſy amongſt thoſe women, on whom he placed his affections; and that was by not leſſening the application with which he continued to pay

pay his court to them, and treating them with as much reſpect when he ceaſed to love them, as in the ſtrongeſt ardor of his paſſion. He frequently ſpent entire days in the city, in viſiting ſucceſſively all thoſe from whom he had received favours, and tho' he did not demand new ones, he appeared to be not the leſs animated by the deſire of pleaſing them. This conduct ſerved alſo to ſatisfy the huſbands, becauſe having never more than one real attachment at a time, it was difficult for them to divine where it was fixed, and therefore every one perſuaded himſelf that it was his neighbour, and not he who was injured. There were few amiable women in *London*, with whom he had not had ſome commerce, and whom by the conſtancy of his aſſiduity he had not thus put into a diſpoſition to ſerve him. The dutcheſs of *Exeter* took equal pains to render herſelf popular, and by reviving the inclination the people had to favour the duke *Clarence*, contributed more to the ſucceſs of his enterprizes, by a way more ſuitable to her ſex, than the duke himſelf did by the ſprings of a more exalted and refined policy.

He nevertheleſs did not ſlacken his endeavours in proſecuting the views to which he had entirely devoted himſelf. While the queen was filled with ſelf-applauſe for the tran-

tranquility ſhe obſerved about her, and which ſhe perhaps began to think perfectly eſtabliſhed, her court was filled with *Edward*'s ſecret friends, who obſerved every thing that was capable of favouring their deſigns, and who regularly conſulted with the duke on the advantages that were to be derived from their obſervations. The earl of *Oxford* ſuſpected many of them. He raiſed the ſame ſuſpicions in the earl of *Warwick*; and the council which was compoſed of men of the moſt approved fidelity, were frequently of opinion that the duke of *Clarence* ought to be ſecured. But the queen, too much attached to the maxims of mildneſs and benignity, which ſhe gloried in having learnt from her paſt misfortunes, rejected a propoſal that appeared to her to be too violent. As ſhe had never been able to conceive what were the duke's motives in ſerving her, ſhe promiſed herſelf, without better comprehending them, that her careſſes and benefits would continue to bind him to her ſervice. Tho' ſhe gave him no great ſhare in the government, ſhe redoubled the marks of her confidence on all occaſions, where he might be employed without her incurring the cenſure of raſhneſs, and ſhe made the earl of *Warwick* conſent that her favour ſhould be almoſt equally divided between them. What had ſhe to fear? She was ſtill aſſured

aſſured by certain informations, that the duke of *Burgundy* conſtantly treated *Edward* with the ſame coldneſs. *England* and *France* had never been upon better terms. Nothing threatened her from without; ſhe found ſtill leſs cauſe for fear in her own dominions. *Montague*, the earl of *Warwick*'s brother, held the north of *England* in ſubjection; the earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford* were in the ſouth and weſt of the kingdom; *Warwick* himſelf was become the guarantee of *Kent*; and *Vaucler*c, always faithful in his government of *Calais*, kept it in ſubjection with a ſquadron of ſhips of war, which he maintained at his own expence, and manned with the beſt troops and the beſt artillery in *Europe*. The council had beſides a multitude of ſpies at the court of *Flanders*, and in the province of *Holland*, where they knew that *Edward* was returned, and was with *Grootbuyſe*. Why ſhould *Margaret* diſtruſt appearances, when every thing ſeemed to conſpire to render her happy, and when ſhe began, as ſhe ſaid herſelf, to taſte, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, the ſweets of ſovereign power in a peaceful adminiſtration?

In the midſt of this repoſe and ſecurity ſhe received the terrifying news of *Edward*'s landing at *Ravenſpur*. She was with all her court when

when ſhe received *Montague*'s courier. The duke of *Clarence* was alſo preſent with all the outward appearance of ſincerity and attachment. She took him aſide, and without any other witneſs beſides the earl of *Warwick*, in the firſt emotions of an indignation that would not ſuffer her to ſoften her terms, ſhe reproached him with his treachery, on which her goodneſs had made her for a long time ſhut her eyes; and mentioning the ſcaffold to which he was bringing himſelf, demanded the particulars of an enterprize ſhe had been informed of in the letter ſhe had received; for *Mountague* had informed her in a few words, that *Edward* having only two thouſand men with him, there was no doubt but that he depended on being ſeconded by his adherents, and exhorted particularly to beware of the duke of *Clarence*.

The earl of *Warwick* was ſo exaſperated by the queen's uneaſineſs, by his brother's letter, and by his former reſentment, that he wanted but little to extinguiſh his tranſport on the ſpot in the blood of a perfidious prince; but withheld by the reſpect he owed to his ſovereign, he ſoon fell into an agitation of a different kind, when he had heard the duke's anſwer. Far from acknowledging himſelf guilty, he complained of the injury the queen did

did him by her ſuſpicions. He not only proteſted that he was ignorant of the arrival and deſigns of his brother, but that he was ready to ſpill all his blood in ſtopping him; and preventing all objections by offers which would not ſuffer them to harbour the leaſt diſtruſt: he propoſed the queen's cauſing his nephew to be diſpatched, as much to terrify *Edward* by this rigour, as to deprive him of one part of his motives, his views for an only ſon to whom he would ſecure the ſucceſſion. This propoſal filled *Margaret* with horror; but making no other reflections on it than ſuch as tended to make her think him ſincere, tho' ſhe might have looked upon this as a new artifice of the duke's, who perhaps thought of ſhortening by the death of his nephew, the diſtance between himſelf and the throne, ſhe demanded no other proof of his innocence, and was the firſt in taking his part againſt all the earl of *Warwick*'s objections, and the remainder of this converſation only ſerved to confirm her in the ſame ſentiments. She even carried her confidence ſo far, as to entruſt the duke with raiſing troops with the utmoſt ſpeed in the counties where his credit was beſt eſtabliſhed; and preſſing the earl of *Warwick* to employ himſelf in other parts with the ſame care, ſhe did not doubt of its being eaſy for her to put a ſtop to *Edward*'s enterprizes

prizes before he could have time to encreaſe his army, and to make a great progreſs. I ſhould perhaps have laboured to diſguiſe this imprudence, if I had not found it verified by the admirable goodneſs of her temper; a quality which all hiſtorians do not unanimouſly agree in giving *Margaret*, but which here appears with a luſtre that nothing is capable of obſcuring.

Edward was really landed at *Ravenſpur*, the place where *Henry* IV. made his deſcent when he came to ſnatch the crown from *Richard* II. So unforeſeen an event confounded the queen's and the earl of *Warwick*'s politicks. They had no reaſon to reproach themſelves with want of prudence, ſince they could neither foreſee nor prevent it. The duke of *Burgundy*, acting with that diſſimulation, which *Louis* XI. had rendered in a manner faſhionable in all the courts of *Europe*, was to appearance wearied with *Edward*'s ſollicitations, and had even deſired him to retire to the *Hague*, to deliver himſelf from the neceſſity of inceſſantly mortifying him by his continual refuſals. But at the time when he appeared to have forgot him, he conſented to cauſe four veſſels to be equipped for him at *Vere* in *Zealand*, in the name of ſome merchants, on which inſtead of merchandize were

were ſecretly conveyed a prodigious quantity of arms and ammunition. On the other hand, the lord *Groothuyſe* received orders from his maſter to hire twelve veſſels of the ſame *Eaſterlings* who had given *Edward* ſuch uneaſineſs before his arrival in *Holland*. The ſervice he required them to perform for this prince was to carry him to the coaſt of *England*, and to keep themſelves in readineſs for fifteen days to receive him, if fortune did not favour his enterprize. A large ſum of money, which was ſecretly told out to him, completely procured him all the aſſiſtance he judged neceſſary. Theſe preparations were made with ſo little ſecrecy, that all the *Engliſh* ſpies were deceived by them; and that nothing might be wanting to complete their farce, *Edward* was no ſooner at ſea, than the duke publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all his ſubjects aſſiſting him with arms or money under pain of death. Whether it was his own inclination, or the importunity of the dutcheſs his ſpouſe, that led him to make uſe of this artifice, it is very probable, that if events had taken another turn, the earl of *Warwick* would not have ſuffered him to go unpuniſhed.

In the mean time the king did not find the inhabitants of *Ravenſpur* filled with that affectio

ſection and zeal which he ſuppoſed they had for his intereſt: Some made a profeſſion of being attached to the houſe of *Lancaſter*; others were cooled by the ſmall number of his troops; and nobody venturing to declare for him, he contented himſelf for ſome days with keeping his two thouſand men under arms, to keep at leaſt thoſe in ſubjection from whom he apprehended any oppoſition, and from the hope that his party might come in from the other parts of the country. In ſhort, not finding any advantage from this delay, he, by the lord *Haſtings*'s advice, took a reſolution in appearance quite oppoſite to the deſign of his voyage, and that was to lay aſide the title of king, to take up that of the duke of *York*, and to ſpread a report that he only came in quality of the eldeſt perſon of his houſe, to reclaim the eſtates that had been confiſcated. Beſides the example of his wife, he had that of *Henry* IV. who had formerly made uſe of the ſame ſtratagem. But if he had no right to the crown, as he ſeemed to acknowledge, he was rendered criminal by his uſurping it; and the confiſcation of his patrimony was a puniſhment, of which he could not complain.

He however marched towards *York*, affecting to give *Henry* the title of king, and to claim

claim to himſelf only that of duke. Two magiſtrates of this city went to meet him, and deſired him in the name of the inhabitants to take another road: To this he replied that his intention was not to diſpute the crown with the king, ſince the nation had acknowledged him for their ſovereign; and his being accompanied by a few troops was only to ſecure him from the attempts of his enemies; but that being come with the hope of obtaining the reſtitution of his eſtates, and with a deſign to ſubmit to the government, he flattered himſelf, that the inhabitants of *York* would be far from refuſing to let him enter their city, as the title he bore, the lands he poſſeſſed in their county, and the benefits they had received from his family, ought to make them look upon him as their countryman. This anſwer did not impoſe upon the magiſtrates, who had been placed there by the earl of *Warwick*, and whoſe fidelity could not eaſily be ſhaken. But by an ill cuſtom, that had for a long time been eſtabliſhed in *England*, there were in great cities privileged places, that paſſed for ſo inviolable an aſylum, that even the king's authority could not take a criminal from thence. *York* had many of theſe places of retreat, where there were aſſembled a great number of *Edward*'s ancient adherents, who had been confined there by their

their fears ever ſince his flight: and of theſe there were reckoned above three hundred gentlemen, without mentioning thoſe who were not diſtinguiſhed by birth. This daring troop, with whom it cannot be doubted but that *Edward* held a good intelligence, cauſed ſo many tumults in the city during the abſence of the two deputies, that the reſt of the magiſtrates found themſelves forced before their return, to ſend aſſurances to *Edward*, that they were diſpoſed to open their gates to him, on the ſole condition that he would require nothing of them contrary to the obedience they owed the king, and that he would ſave the city from pillage: and on this he conſented to all they propoſed.

On his arrival at *York* he ſupported his artifice, by going to the cathedral, and there confirming his promiſes by the moſt ſolemn oath. The whole of his condnct was like that of a ſubject who ſought to return to his obedience, and ſpeaking only of his eſtates which he waited to ſee in his poſſeſſion, he continued to proteſt that he was going to have his cauſe decided by the parliament. His army began, nevertheleſs, to encreaſe by his being joined by thoſe who had ſo well ſerved him. But he did not abuſe the tranſports of their zeal, which in their firſt heat

heat rendered them capable of undertaking any thing. He contented himſelf with borrowing a ſum of money from the city. And he and his troops took the road towards *London*, thanking the inhabitants for their civility, as for a favour which he owed to their affection alone.

Montague, who was at *Pontefract*, had hitherto only thought of aſſembling the troops that were in different parts of the country. Thoſe who have appeared ſurprized at the want of courage, which he ſeemed to diſcover on an occaſion of this importance, were ignorant that by the firſt courier he had diſpatched to the queen, he had received orders to hazard nothing raſhly. The earl of *Warwick* had learnt from conſtant experience, that in the wars between the two royal houſes for the poſſeſſion of the crown, half of the kingdom, that is to ſay, thoſe who had no intereſt in this quarrel, waited to eſpouſe that ſide, to which the fate of arms gave ſome advantage. Even the parliaments had never followed any other rule. A ſlight encounter, if it had turned to *Edward*'s advantage, would have increaſed the boldneſs of his party, and been ſufficient to have enabled him to raiſe a numerous army. Thus the greateſt revolutions have always depended on the firſt ſtrokes

ſtrokes of chance or fury. But as the counties were too well guarded to give the earl room to fear any one's being able to raiſe forces in *Edward*'s name, and as his adventure even at *York* had a tendency to encreaſe his confidence, which might naturally be confirmed by the difficulty this prince had met with of making himſelf heard in a part of the kingdom, where the people were moſt inclined to favour his family, he was perſuaded that the beſt way to ſtifle all his deſigns in their birth was ſpeedily to aſſemble all the king's forces, and ſurround him with ſo much care, as to cut him in pieces with all his men. He appointed *Coventry* as the place of rendezvous, for his brother and the duke of *Clarence*, from whence it was eaſy to turn towards what place ſoever *Edward* ſhould chuſe as the centre of his enterprizes. The duke of *Clarence* had already twelve thouſand men, with whom he ſeemed reſolved to join the earl; but the perfidious intentions he had ſo long nouriſhed were ready to break out, and the earl had ſoon reaſon to acknowledge, that in affairs of political intereſt, a confidence placed on an obſcure and doubtful foundation, is always a proof of inexcuſable blindneſs.

However,

However, the duke covered his treachery with ſome remains of precaution, which were indeed, only an addition to his perfidy. Being advanced within twelve miles of *Coventry*, he pretended great aſtoniſhment at the news he received of his brother's approach. *Edward* had advanced very near to him by long marches, and this boldneſs alone with the ſmall number of troops that followed him, was a proof that he depended on other ſuccours. The duke of *Clarence* appeared to doubt whether prudence would permit him to advance further at the hazard of meeting the enemy, of whoſe ſtrength he pretended to be ignorant. Having made uſe of this pretext for entrenching himſelf in the ſame place, he ſtaid there not only all night, but a part of the following day, appearing uneaſy at his hearing no news of the earl of *Warwick*; tho' he had received twenty couriers on the road, who had preſſed him with great impatience to redouble his march. In ſhort, towards the middle of the afternoon his advanced guard informed him, they ſaw a body of cavalry whoſe number was leſs to be dreaded than their intrepidity; for that they had marched without the leaſt precaution, and had not even diſpatched any perſon to obſerve the ſituation of the camp. He affected all the

precautions of war, and preparing to give a warm reception to thoſe who were coming to attack him, he took his poſt at the head of the camp, with an exhortation to all his men to remember their duty. While his ſurprize ſeemed to increaſe at ſeeing the enemy at a hundred paces diſtance, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of hoſtility, a horſeman rode up towards him, and made himſelf known for the duke of *Glouceſter*, his brother, and ſhewing an eagerneſs to embrace him, came, and without the leaſt precaution threw his arms about his neck. He appeared to heſitate for a moment on the reception he ought to give him, and at laſt ſeeming determined to return his careſſes, demanded what were his views in ſo ſtrange a viſit. The duke of *Glouceſter* redoubled the marks of his affection, and aſſured him that he had no other motive but fraternal affection, and the ſole teſtimony he deſired of his, was a moment's converſation in his tent. It was ſtill with the affectation of ſome uneaſineſs that the duke of *Clarence* conſented; and this was on condition that his principal officers ſhould be witneſſes of their diſcourſe.

This conference turned on the ſubject that might naturally be expected. The duke of *Glouceſter* was at firſt received with much cool-

coolneſs; but at laſt, *Clarence*, as if he had been ſtruck by the weight of his brother's reaſons, defended himſelf by motives of honour and fidelity ariſing from his engagements. The officers, whoſe preſence had been required, were then made judges in the diſpute. The duke of *Glouceſter* now applied his ſollicitations to them, and adding his offers and promiſes, he gained them over; or rather, they, not doubting of the diſpoſition of their chief, ſought to make a merit of their readineſs to follow his intentions. The order they received to make the ſame propoſal to the troops was executed with the ſame facility. In leſs than an hour the duke of *Glouceſter* cauſed the camp to be broke up; and being followed by twelve thouſand men, whom he had juſt conquered with very little expence, returned towards *Edward* with his valuable acquiſition.

The earl of *Warwick* upon hearing the news of this ſhameful defeat, was tranſported with fury. He could not forgive himſelf for being blinded with an imprudence that was neither ſuitable to his experience nor courage; and he felt his grief and confuſion redoubled from conſidering, that as *Montague* could not join him for ſeveral days, he was expoſed with eight thouſand men, which were all the

troops he had time to raiſe, to the danger of being attacked by an army that was much more numerous than his own. To render his vexation compleat, the duke of *Clarence*, the next day, ſent to make his excuſes to him, on the neceſſity there was for his entering into his brother's intereſt, and adding inſult to his perfidy, offered him his credit with *Edward*, if he would enter into an accommodation, or himſelf propoſe ſuch conditions as might be accepted. This propoſal was rejected by the earl with marks of the greateſt contempt. But there was as little ſincerity in it as in the reſt of the duke's conduct. *Edward*, tho' ſuperior in number, was far from hazarding in one moment all his hopes, againſt a man whoſe valour he was acquainted with by long experience. He only thought of alarming him, that he might find an opportunity to give *Warwick* the ſlip, while the continual expectation of being attack'd, made him employ all his care in entrenching and defending himſelf. The following night *Edward* ſet out for *London*, taking a very wide circuit; and the precautions he obſerved to conceal his march, ſucceeded ſo well, that the earl was not informed of it till the day after.

But

But there was ſo little probability that he could have formed a deſign to march to the capital, that if we do not ſuppoſe that he was ſure of being received there with open arms, we muſt conſider his enterprize as one of the moſt raſh inſtances of extravagance that ever diſhonoured a warrior: for if he met with the leaſt reſiſtance there, he would find himſelf locked in between the army which the queen and the lords of her party were raiſing in the ſouth of *England*, and that of the earl of *Warwick*, which would in a few days be infinitely more ſtrong than his, by being joined by the marquis of *Montague*. The ſucceſs he met with after his eſcape from *Middleham*, could not flatter him with the ſame hopes in ſuch different conjunctures. He did not then find a king eſtabliſhed on the throne, a people accuſtomed to ſubmit to him, troops ready to attack his, in ſhort, all appearances were now againſt him; and when we ſuppoſe that the artifices of the duke of *Clarence* and the dutcheſs of *Exeter* had formed a conſiderable party in the city, he could hardly imagine that the preparations of his friends were in ſuch forwardneſs as to ſecure him from the dangers with which he was threatened.

The queen, who thought him ſtill at *York*, and who, on learning that that city had open'd its gates to him, had made no doubt of his taking up ſome time in encreaſing his army in the north, was gone from *London* with the prince of *Wales*, her ſon, to haſten the levies in the ſouthern counties by her preſence. She had not however left *Henry* without defence; for beſides his ordinary guard, the duke of *Somerſet* had already aſſembled ſome troops for this prince's preſervation, and all the lords who had not received particular commiſſions, continued about his perſon. However, ſcarce was *Edward* advanced within ſight of the walls, than there was a commotion in the city from which all diſintereſted people drew very ill preſages. His party, which perhaps did not expect to ſee him arrive ſo ſoon, ſpread a report that he had defeated the earl of *Warwick* and *Montague*, and that with his victorious troops, the number of which they greatly exaggerated, he was going to take revenge on all thoſe who did not prevent him by a ready ſubmiſſion. This news, which was not void of probability, ſpread terror thro' all parts of the city. Thoſe who were attached to him, either by their engagements or inclinations, aroſe with great noiſe, in order to make a merit of their zeal;

zeal; while the others, trembling and filled with conſternation, durſt not open their mouths, from the fear of ruining themſelves, by declaring their ſentiments. In vain did the duke of *Somerſet* and the other lords apply to the magiſtrates to put a ſtop to the diſorder by their authority. The people ran to the gates of the city, and perceiving *Edward*'s army at a diſtance, invited its approach by their ſigns and acclamations. At the ſame time an infinite number of out-laws, who were retired ever ſince this prince's flight, into the aſylum of *Weſtminſter*, came out armed to go and join him. This was the firſt ſignal for an open ſedition. Theſe frantic perſons running thro' the ſtreets drew along with them thoſe, whom they thought they had nothing to reproach with but their ſlowneſs, and killed without mercy thoſe whom they imagined were diſaffected. Even *Somerſet*'s troops, the king's guard, and the moſt faithful friends to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, dejected with their fears, and ſeeing no means of reſiſting the torrent, thought leſs of aſſembling and ſtanding on their defence, than of eſcaping the vengeance of the conqueror by ſubmiſſion or flight. *Edward* entered *London*, as *Henry* had done two days before; that is, not being able to doubt of the diſpoſition of the public, he would ſcarce allow

himſelf to be attended by a body of cavalry in order to repair to his palace in the city, where he had no other embarraſment, but to thank the inhabitants for their affection.

But he did not forget the moſt important part of his enterprize; or rather the lord *Haſtings*, who had judged that the ſucceſs was certain, on the firſt marks he diſcovered of the inclination of the people, reminded him that he had not a moment to loſe in ſecuring *Henry*'s perſon. Two thouſand men, therefore, being obtained from the army under the conduct of this lord, marched to the palace ſword in hand, on which the guard immediately fled. Even the duke of *Somerſet* and the archbiſhop of *York*, who were returned from the city, where they had in vain endeavoured to ſtop the people, at this ſight reſolved on flight; and not being able to imagine but that the king would find ſome means of making his eſcape, depended on his taking the road to *Dorcheſter*, where the queen and prince then were. But the ſame inſenſibility, which always throws hiſtorians into an embarraſſment, when they would attempt to explain the reaſons of *Henry*'s conduct, retained this unhappy monarch in his apartment, without his ſhewing the leaſt fear at the flight of his

his guards, and the approach of his enemies. He received the lord *Haſtings* with as little emotion as if he had been come to make his court to him, and appearing diſpoſed to obey the laws of the conqueror, ſuffered himſelf to be led to the Tower, without expreſſing his uneaſineſs by a ſingle complaint. He was then ſhut up in the ſame place in which he had lived for ſeven years together. At the ſight of this mournful abode, he aſked thoſe who conducted him, if they did not admire the diſpenſations of providence; and added, that after this new reverſe, ſeeing no longer any hope of the re-eſtabliſhment of his fortune, he could find no difference between his grave and his tomb. This ſpeech may be placed in the rank of his predictions, but only half of the truth eſcaped him; and if he did foreſee that it was his fate to die in the tower, he doubtleſs did not foreſee that his death was to be effected by a barbarous murder.

The duke of *Somerſet*, however, who ſet out from *London* with only two domeſtics, took the road to *Dorſetſhire*, in order to rejoin the queen; but the ſame day he met a body of five thouſand men, who were marching under the conduct of the grand prior towards *Coventry*, which the queen knew *Warwick* had

fixed upon as the place of his rendezvous. Having ſent the grand prior to that princeſs, to exhort her not to deſpair, he put himſelf at their head, and having paſſed the *Thames* at *Brentford*, marched with ſuch extraordinary diligence, that the day after he joined the earl at *St. Albans*, where he had already arrived on the terrifying news of the reſolution *Edward* had taken to march directly to the capital. So conſiderable a reinforcement, joined to twenty thouſand men which his brother had brought him the evening before, revived the earl's hopes; but could not comfort him for the news of that dreadful diſgrace, the particular circumſtances of which he learnt from the duke of *Somerſet*. He found the capital loſt, the king a priſoner, and all the kingdom, to whom *London* was always an example, ready to declare for his enemy. In ſo preſſing an extremity, no other reſource was left but his gaining a battle; and while he advanced by ſuch a haſty march to force *Edward* to fight before he had time to ſeduce the inhabitants of *London*, his impatience redoubled at being forced by his own ſituation to put every thing to the hazard.

THE HISTORY OF MARGARET of ANJOU.

PART IV.

THE HISTORY OF MARGARET of ANJOU.

BOOK IV.

EDWARD did not wait for their coming to defy him in his walls. He was ſenſible that all the time he left the earl to encreaſe his army was giving him an advantage againſt himſelf; and being ſatisfied with his own, which was greatly ſtrengthened in the twenty-four hours he had ſpent in *London*, he was no ſooner informed that the enemy had appeared at *St. Albans*, than he ſet out with fifty thouſand men to meet him half way. Thus the two armies ſought each other with equal ardour.

Ed-

Edward not daring to truſt any one with the guard of *Henry*'s perſon, took him out of the tower, that he might be conducted under his eye; and tho' this was a motive for courage amongſt his troops, it was one of terror to all of the party of the houſe of *Lancaſter*. They met near *Barnet*, on the 14th of *April*, 1471, a terrible day which heaven had pointed out for the deciſion of ſo great a difference! Each treating the other as a rebel, there was no hope of quarter from the conqueror, and ſuch accumulated hatred between the two parties ſuffered none to expect either pity or favour.

As the relation of this celebrated battle conſiſts of a ſmall number of ſimple and diſtinct facts, there is little difference among hiſtorians as to the particulars. Whether it be that they have only copied each other, or whether having compiled their accounts from materials of equal fidelity, they have made uſe of even the ſame terms. We are not therefore here embarraſſed by the variety of accounts. The battle of *Barnet* began at break of day, and laſted till noon. Two armies were perhaps never ſeen to fight with more valour and greater obſtinacy. That of the earl of *Warwick*, tho' inferior in number, began the attack, and his firſt ſhock was ſo impetuous, that the earl at firſt flattered himſelf with

with the hopes of victory, eſpecially when having detached ſome ſquadrons from his third line to redouble the firſt charge, he made the enemy loſe ſo much ground, that he ſaw a great number fly with full ſpeed. But *Edward*, who underſtood war better than the art of government, immediately ordered his body of reſerve to advance, and taking the earl's army in flank, he in his turn put it into a diſorder that changed the face of the battle. It was difficult for the earl immediately to form a detachment to oppoſe ſo preſſing an attack. The earl of *Oxford*, who had drove back *Edward*'s troops, wheeled about to ſupply this defect; but this precaution, which was capable of repairing the evil, became a much greater than that it was intended to put a ſtop to. The earl bore on his arms a ſtar with rays, which had a great reſemblance to *Edward*'s device, which was a ſun. A fog, which aroſe during the engagement, having not permitted *Warwick*'s troops to diſtinguiſh the difference, they were ſo unhappily deceived, that inſtead of receiving the earl's aſſiſtance, they charged him briſkly. The confuſion which followed this miſtake, favoured *Edward* ſo much, that he continued to drive them forwards with freſh vigour. In vain did the earl of *Warwick*, who perceived ſo fatal an error, employ his hands

and

and voice to undeceive his men. Some believing themſelves betrayed by their own party, fled towards *Edward*. Others ſeeing theſe fly, imagined that *Edward* had attack'd them behind, and precipitated themſelves like the reſt into the arms of their enemies. In ſhort, *Warwick*, filled with deſpair at ſo unhappy an adventure, ruſhed among the thickeſt of his enemies, as much to ſtop his miſtaken ſoldiers, as to revenge them by ſhedding a torrent of blood. He was on foot, contrary to the cuſtom he had always obſerved in battle, and all his valour could not prevent his being overpowered by numbers, he therefore fell covered with wounds. *Montague*, his brother, following in order to reſcue him, periſhed almoſt at the ſame moment. The reſt of the action was nothing but a continued ſcene of the moſt dreadful ſlaughter. *Edward*, tho' aſſured of the victory, after the death of the two chiefs, renewed the order he had given in the beginning, to give no quarter to any one. He hoped that none of the generals would be able to eſcape; but the earl of *Oxford* and the duke of *Somerſet* cut themſelves a paſſage thro' the battalions with their ſwords. The duke of *Exeter*, who followed them with equal valour, was ſtopped by a wound with a lance, which left him for dead on the field of

battle. However, having continued there till after ſun-ſet, the coolneſs of the night ſerved to recall his ſpirits, and he was happy enough to ſave himſelf by favour of the darkneſs.

After ſo ſignal a victory, *Edward* had no need of making uſe of any precautions in returning to *London*. The diſperſed remains of the enemy durſt not appear on the road. He was received in the capital with acclamations, that proceeded leſs from the intereſt they took in his triumph, than from ſeeing themſelves delivered from a fear with which every one was equally ſeized; for what puniſhments might they not expect if the earl of *Warwick* ſhould return conqueror? The body of this unfortunate hero was expoſed to view for two days in St. *Paul*'s church. *Edward* thought leſs of verifying his death, of which no body could entertain the leaſt doubt, than of diſcovering the diſpoſitions of the people, from the teſtimonies of grief or joy produced by this ſpectacle. But he had the mortification to ſee the ſentiments of the public expreſſed in a manner very different from what he had expected. A mournful ſilence, an extraordinary proof of pity and admiration in the concourſe of a prodigious multitude, which flocked to St. *Paul*'s for two days, made him com-

comprehend what a degree of eſteem the earl of *Warwick* had obtained from the whole nation, which vexed him ſo much, that he ſhortened the time he himſelf had fixed, and cauſed the body to be haſtily conveyed to *Biſham-abbey*, the antient burying-place of the earl's family.

Henry was reconducted to the tower, and the journey he had made could not paſs for an interruption of his confinement, ſince he never quitted the coach into which they had put him at his leaving his priſon. He aſked news of the queen and prince? And thoſe who attended him had the cruelty to reply bluntly, by *Edward*'s order, that none was left either of his family or party, and that the life he ſtill enjoyed was a benefit he owed to the conqueror. But this would have rendered it more inſupportable than all the apprehenſions of death, if he had been capable of feeling the full extent of his misfortune.

The queen was however ſtill living; but her only ſhelter was in the arms of her ſon. Her grief at the news of the total defeat of her army, and the earl's death, gave reaſon to fear that ſhe would deliver herſelf from ſo many evils by ſome act of violence, and ſhe had need of all her tenderneſs and all the aſcendancy

eendancy ſo dear a ſon had over her, to make her conſent to live. She ſuffered herſelf to be prevailed on to take ſanctuary in the abbey of *Beaulieu* in *Hampſhire*, where the prince of *Wales* reſolved to follow her, if he could not aſſemble about him ſome of the remains of his troops. He comforted her by his firmneſs and courage, for it was on his account alone, that ſhe was filled with ſuch dreadful apprehenſions. It was in vain that ſhe preſſed him to take advantage of their being ſo near the ſea, in order to ſeek for ſhelter in *France*. This young prince, whoſe great qualifications daily unfolded themſelves, perceived that the earl being dead, the care of his own deſtiny and the fortune of his houſe fell on himſelf alone, and the tears of his mother and his wife were incapable of perſuading him, that his honour would permit him to abandon all his hopes.

However the earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford* who ſoon came to him, ſeemed of the ſame opinion as the queen, that in the general conſternation of all his friends, he had no other part to chuſe, but to yield for ſome time to the conqueror, and to go and lay in *France* the foundation of a new enterprize. This advice, which was doubtleſs the leaſt dangerous, would have prevailed over all the prince's

prince's reſolutions, if the duke of *Somerſet* had not arrived to deſtroy them by a multitude of ſpecious arguments. He ſeemed entitled to ſucceed the earl of *Warwick* in the defence of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and it cannot be doubted but that this view was the principal motive of all his counſels. He repreſented to the prince and the queen, that if they had any thing to hope for from the affection of the people, they muſt take advantage of the heat they were ſtill in, before the tumult of arms was entirely ceaſed. Many counties, where the effects of war had not been felt, offered not only ſhelter to the prince, but numerous armies, which his name could not fail to raiſe on a ſudden. Could the queen doubt of it, who had ſo often advanced the fortune of her huſband, when her affairs were in a more deſperate ſituation, and who had made ſuch a happy uſe of her ſon's name in the firſt years of his infancy? *Wales*, *Somerſetſhire*, and *Cornwall*, were filled with *Lancaſtrians*, whoſe zeal had never yet been put to the proof. He engaged to raiſe by his own credit twenty thouſand men in the county from whence he derived his title, and he deſired the prince to advance with him to the borders of it, that he might admire the impreſſion that would be made by his preſence. His return to *France* would render him deſpi-

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cable not only to the whole nation, who would never lay aſide the opinion they would conceive of his timidity, but to the *French* themſelves, who from the ideas they have conceived of courage and honour, would not fail to judge him unworthy of the protection he ſhould implore.

Theſe reaſons encreaſed the ardour of the young prince; and made thoſe aſhamed, who had been of a leſs raſh opinion. The reſult of the council was to ſend beforehand a part of the lords into ſome of the counties from which they hoped for the moſt ſpeedy ſuccours, while the queen and the prince repaired with the ſmall number of troops they had with them into ſome place in *Wales* or *Somerſetſhire*, where they were to hold their general quarters, whither the reſt were to aſſemble. After many deliberations they fixed on *Glouceſter*, and the earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford* were choſen to diſpoſe this city to receive the prince; but a diſagreeable incident that happened the day after his departure, put his life in the greateſt danger from a ſide on which they thought they had no reaſon to dread either violence or treachery.

Edward was not ignorant of the queen's being in *Dorſetſhire*, and was ſo far from conſidering

ſidering her as a deſpicable enemy, that he trembled at calling to mind her penetration and courage that had ſaved her from the artifices by which he had triumphed over her huſband and the earl of *Warwick*. His firſt care on his arrival at *London* had been to cauſe a conſiderable detachment to march towards *Dorcheſter*. He knew that ſhe had reſerved to herſelf no other troops beſides her guard. However the lord *Stanley*, whom he had choſen to ſeize her perſon, had orders to make uſe of ſtratagem rather than force; and he expecting that after the loſs of her army, ſhe would be more ready to fly than to make any reſiſtance, his principal fear was leſt ſhe had already put to ſea in order to return to *France*. While he was on the road his thoughts were taken up with the hopes of preventing her; but on his learning at *Dorcheſter* that ſhe was retired to the abbey of *Beaulieu*, he imagined that his commiſſion would be executed with the greateſt eaſe. The opinion he had conceived of it appeared much more certain, when on his approaching *Beaulieu*, he was informed that about twelve hundred men, who had aſſembled there under the duke of *Somerſet*, ſet out from thence the evening before, and as the queen had taken meaſures to conceal her own and the prince's departure, and had even left the princeſs of *Wales* at

Beaulieu

Beaulieu with a part of her guards, he made no doubt, from his confidence of finding there both the mother and the ſon, that his expedition would be attended with infallible ſucceſs. The queen had ſet out from *London* with four hundred men for her guard, and tho' ſhe had left only two hundred at *Beaulieu*, *Stanley*, who reaſoned on the ſuppoſition that ſhe was there with all her retinue, judg'd that a thouſand men from his detachment would be ſufficient to force the monaſtry. As an enterprize of this nature ſeemed to depend on diligence and ſecrecy, he ſtopp'd towards the cloſe of the day within two miles of *Beaulieu*, and putting himſelf at the head of a thouſand horſe, he approached the abbey with a ſpeedy march.

Happily for the queen and her ſon, they had two friends at *Dorcheſter* capable of penetrating into the deſign of *Edward*'s troops, and of ſuch fidelity, as to make haſte to bring them intelligence. They could not find them at *Beaulieu*; but the ſwiftneſs of two men on horſeback greatly ſurpaſſing that of a body of troops, they had time to overtake them, and to inform them that they were purſued. The young prince, who found that he had gained two days march, was but little alarmed for himſelf and the queen: All his

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fear was for his conſort. They had left her at *Beaulieu* at a time when they thought themſelves certain of *Edward*'s having no troops in the country, and not doubting but that the whole attention of the court of *London* would ſoon be directed to the place where *Margaret* ſtopped with her ſon, they with reaſon flattered themſelves, that the princeſs, after having ſerved to favour their march, might follow them with ſo much the more eaſe, as *Edward* would ceaſe to have his eyes fixed on *Hampſhire*.

The firſt emotions of the prince made him ready to turn back with *Somerſet*'s twelve hundred men. However, on it's being repreſented that *Stanley*'s detachment conſiſted of eight thouſand men, and that his perſonal valour could be of no advantage to him, while there was ſuch an inequality, he took another reſolution, which was perhaps ſtill more imprudent, but which no body oppoſed, on account of the care he took to conceal it even from his mother. This was to chuſe four of the moſt reſolute lords of his retinue, and to gain by his diligence and addreſs what he could not hope to obtain from fortune. On computing the enemy's march, from the report of the two couriers from *Dorcheſter*, he imagined that with the ſpeed he ſhould make

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he might arrive at *Bieulieu* before *Stanley*, take away the princeſs, and ſave her by favour of the woods, and the darkneſs. Nothing but the ſucceſs could have juſtified this raſhneſs. The queen was ſeized with the moſt mortal apprehenſions at her ſon's precipitate flight. Nothing would have been ſufficient to prevent her following him, if the duke of *Somerſet* had not revived her hopes by aſſuring her, that he could depend on the prudence and fidelity of the grand prior, whom this prince had taken with him as one of his aſſociates. She would at leaſt have the duke himſelf advance at all hazards towards *Beaulieu*, to favour his return, and the time ſhe was obliged to ſtay in waiting for him, was to her an inexpreſſible torment.

The prince arrived ſafe at *Beaulieu*; and entered the monaſtry, from whence he ſent ſome of the queen's guards on the ſcout. This was in the evening of the ſame night which *Stanley* choſe for the execution of his deſign. But the prince, who waited only for the darkneſs in order to carry off the princeſs, ſet out perhaps at the ſame moment in which *Stanley* began his march with his thouſand horſe. The fidelity obſerved in the abbey, in ſaying that the queen ſet out two days before, made her enemies ſuppreſs the deſire of purſuing her;

for beſides the advantage ſhe had gained over them, they continued uncertain of the road ſhe had taken: but *Stanley* comforted himſelf for this mortification by a large contribution which he impoſed on the monaſtry of *Beaulieu*, by way of puniſhment.

The earl of *Devonſhire*, and *Venlock*, two lords who had left *Edward*'s party, and continued faithful to the queen, propoſed to ſtop at *Bath*, in order to wait till they were aſſured of the diſpoſition of *Glouceſter*. Beſides the ſituation of the place, which rendered it capable of a long defence, they might there wait for levies from *Cornwall* and *Somerſetſhire*, before they entered *Wales*. The inhabitants of this city received the queen and prince of *Wales* with ſuch marks of affection as a little raiſed their hopes; which were encreaſed by the readineſs with which they ſaw the new recruits come in that were raiſed in the neighbouring provinces, and alſo by the arrival of the remains of the earl of *Warwick*'s army, which after having wandered many days in troops and ſmall companies, ſhewed by their tranſports the joy they felt at finding again their prince and maſter. All hiſtorians are aſtoniſhed that in leſs than fifteen days, which had ſcarcely paſſed ſince the battle of *Barnet*, the lords of the queen's party

party ſhould be able to raiſe ſo powerful an army. If we ſearch for the cauſe, we muſt doubtleſs attribute it to the uncertainty all the party of the houſe of *Lancaſter* were ſtill in as to the manner in which *Edward* would treat the conquered; for the greateſt part expected no clemency, and therefore, choſe rather to hazard their lives in another battle, than to expoſe themſelves to ſuch ſhameful or cruel puniſhments, as paſt examples made them fearful of receiving from the conqueror.

In ſhort, the rigour with which he began to treat all thoſe whoſe ſubmiſſion appeared too ſlow, was adapted to increaſe the terror of thoſe who were chargeable with any particular offence. Having publiſhed a proclamation, in which he eſtabliſhed his right to the crown, he there declared a great number of lords, whom he ſuppoſed to be in the queen's retinue, or employed in her ſervice in ſome other place, to be traitors and rebels. He did not ſcruple to give this odious title to the queen herſelf, nor did he except her from the puniſhment he denounced againſt his enemies. On the news he at the ſame time received of theſe new preparations, he put himſelf at the head of all his forces to cruſh them before the earl of *Pembroke* could arrive to ſtrengthen them with ſuccours from *Wales*.

What diligence ſoever had been made uſe of in her ſervice, ſhe was ſtill very far from finding herſelf as ſtrong as the king, and beſides ſhe was in want both of arms and ammunition. The lords adviſed her to abandon *Bath*, and to paſs into *Wales*, which by its ſituation would render it eaſy for them to avoid for ſome time coming to an engagement: There was no doubt but that they might paſs the *Severn* before the king could come up with them; and *Glouceſter*, which was in their road, would favour her paſſage. They ſet out with this expectation; but after the promiſes they had received from *Glouceſter*, they were extremely ſurprized at finding the gates ſhut againſt them. The report of the king's march had changed the inclinations of the inhabitants. As they had ſo little time to open themſelves a paſſage by force, it was neceſſary to gain *Tewkeſbury*: But *Edward* followed them ſo cloſe, that on their arrival in that town, they began to deliberate if they ſhould begin to paſs the river at the hazard of his falling on their rear-guard, or whether they ſhould intrench themſelves in the park adjoining to the town, to wait there for the earl of *Pembroke*'s troops.

As they were under an unavoidable neceſſity of fixing upon one of theſe reſo-

reſolutions, the queen, who thought of nothing but ſecuring the ſafety of her ſon, gave her advice that they ought to paſs it. The greateſt part of the lords were of her opinion, and if we may judge by the ſucceſs, they were certainly right. But the duke of *Somerſet* was not for diſhonouring himſelf by a retreat, which he thought extremely ſhameful. He obſerved, that without reckoning the infallible ruin of the rear guard, ſo precipitate a flight in the ſight of the enemy would diſcourage all thoſe who had ſtill an inclination to the houſe of *Lancaſter*; that the diſadvantage of numbers might be repaired by good intrenchments, from which they might derive this uſe, that by rendering the queen miſtreſs of the river, ſhe would be always in a condition this way to receive the earl of *Pembroke*. This advice was carried in ſpite of the queen. But tho' it cannot be doubted, that in the preſent circumſtances of time and place this was the only one they had to follow, it ought to have been ſupported by other prudent meaſures, without which it could not but be fatal.

Battle of Towton

As ſoon as they had fixed on this reſolution, their pioneers were employed in the park in making a deep intrenchment; and the work was carried on with ſuch vigour,

that tho' they begun as it drew towards night, they had finiſhed it by the next morning. *Edward*, who was encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the town, approached in order to take a view of it, and finding it ſo well conducted, had reaſon to fear that the continuation of their work would render it impenetrable, and that the earl of *Pembroke* would arrive ſoon enough to prevent his attack, he therefore immediately ranged his army in order of battle, placing them in two lines. This was enough to let the duke of *Somerſet* know what he had to expect. He diſpoſed his army in three bodies behind the intrenchments, giving the command of one to the earl of *Devonſhire*, another to *Venlock*, and reſerved the foremoſt to himſelf, in order to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock; while the prince of *Wales*, who had condeſcended to reſign the command to him on account of his experience, would fight by his ſide, and ſhare the danger with him.

The duke of *Somerſet* wanted no military qualification; but he was to defend himſelf againſt an enemy, whoſe principal merit was an admirable knowledge in the art of war; for *Edward* had from his infancy been educated in the midſt of armies; and what was moſt extraordinary, was his having united to this martial

martial temper, an irregular fondneſs for ſenſual pleaſures, which rendered him as effeminate in peace, as he appeared hardy and indefatigable in the exerciſes of war. The firſt glance of his eye was ſure to give him a judgment of the weakneſs or ſtrength of an enemy, and all military ſtratagems were ſo familiar to him, that in an inſtant he penetrated into all he had to fear from artifice. In this all hiſtorians reckon him ſuperior to the earl of *Warwick*, who from his ideas of greatneſs of ſoul and heroic valour, attended ſo little to the diſcovery of the ſtratagems of his enemies that he diſdained them, and ſeemed to deſpiſe all advantages which he did not owe to his undaunted bravery. I ſhould not have taken the pains to exalt the merit of a prince, on whom I am not led by my ſubject to make an elogium, if this very penetration, which I have attributed to him, did not ſerve to juſtify the queen's braveſt defenders, by removing the ſuſpicions which ſome hiſtorians have caſt on their fidelity to her. *Edward* had obſerved an opening in the enemy's intrenchments, which did not appear to be left without deſign, and doing juſtice to the duke of *Somerſet*'s abilities, he did not doubt but that this was a way prepared to purſue him on a ſuppoſition that he met with ſucceſs in the firſt attack. He therefore propoſed to turn this contrivance

againſt himſelf. The duke of *Glouceſter*, who commanded the ſecond line, had orders to advance on that ſide, and firſt to make a furious attack on the intrenchment, but to give way by degrees till he pretended to be entirely defeated. *Edward* being poſted at ſome diſtance behind him, remained a quiet witneſs of the aſſault. His brother no ſooner pretended to retire, than the duke ruſhing upon him thro' the opening, forced him in earneſt to turn his back, and perhaps *Edward*'s artifice might have been fatal to his own line, if *Venlock* had been as ready as *Somerſet* to ſally with his body of troops. But thoſe of the duke of *Glouceſter* having opened in flying, according to the order they had received, left the enemy the ſight of *Edward*, who advanced in good order to receive him. Then making an half circle to return immediately to the charge, they appeared ready on both ſides to take the duke in flank, and there was nothing that could ſave him from an attack conducted with ſuch judgment. He immediately perceived that he had been guilty of imprudence, and his deſpair making him think that he had been betrayed by *Venlock*, he only thought of wheeling about to regain the camp. But the diligence of the enemy equalling his own, he could not prevent the duke of *Glouceſter*'s men, who by the turn they had made were advanced

advanced almoſt as far as him on the wings, from arriving as ſoon at the opening of the intrenchment, to charge him in the rear, and from entering with the greateſt impetuoſity after him. At this ſight the duke of *Somerſet*, tranſported with fury, flew to *Venlock*, and with a ſudden blow with his battle-axe cut off his head. The ſecret of the treachery was ſmothered in the blood of the perfidious wretch; but whether he was really guilty or not the effect was ſo terrible, that it became impoſſible for *Somerſet*'s prudence, and the prince of *Wales*'s valour, to make uſe of the leaſt remedy againſt it. The duke of *Glouceſter*, who reſolved to remove the falſe opinion they might have conceived of his flight, made an incredible ſlaughter in the camp; and the ſight of *Edward*, who was not more than two ſteps from the opening, took away all remains of courage from thoſe who ſtill endeavoured to defend themſelves. The intrenchment that was only made for their defence, was now a dreadful obſtacle that prevented their ſaving themſelves by flight. They ſoon threw down their arms to wait on their knees for the ſtroke of death, or the favour of the conqueror. They could ſcarce hold the queen, who would precipitate herſelf into the midſt of the tumult, where ſhe ſaw her ſon fighting; but a deep ſwoon, which ſpee-

dily followed theſe dreadful agitations, gave her domeſtics time to put her into a chariot, and happily eſcaping out of one of the gates of the park, they conveyed her in this condition ſome miles from *Tewkeſbury*, to a monaſtery, the name of which is not mentioned by hiſtorians.

Nothing but a miracle could ſave the prince of *Wales* and the duke of *Somerſet*, but heaven had none in ſtore for them. The duke of *Glouceſter* had ſurrounded them with his beſt troops, and after having for a long time defended themſelves with a valour that raiſed the admiration of their enemies, they were taken with their arms in their hands; and it is remarked, that he who ſeized the prince, took advantage of the moment in which he had ruſhed on one of the combatants whom he overthrew with a mortal wound, but could not recover from the ſtroke quick enough to prevent his being diſarmed. This obſervation gives the idea of a very obſtinate and cloſe combat; but it has not the leaſt improbability; ſince it was at a time when firearms had yet but little ſhare in the moſt bloody battles, and where the moſt terrible execution was performed with the battle-axe and ſword.

Edward,

Edward, who had ſo often given orders in an engagement, that no quarter ſhould be given to any one, put a ſtop to the ſlaughter as ſoon as he was informed that the prince and the duke of *Somerſet* were taken priſoners; he even diſdained to ſeize a multitude of miſerable creatures, who waited for their ſentence on their knees. Almoſt all the lords had the ſame fate as the prince and the duke, but the earl of *Devonſhire* and the lord *Beaufort* died fighting.

So compleat a victory, followed by the captivity of the prince and his principal partiſans, ſecured to *Edward* the poſſeſſion of the crown, and all the advantages they had contended for. Even the quuen could not eſcape him. What need had he then to ſtain his triumph with blood? Thoſe who have pretended to juſtify his cruelty, maintain, that if he had fallen into the queen's hands either at *Barnet* or at *Tewkeſbury*, he might have expected to die on a ſcaffold; and his ſafety ſeemed to authorize his making his enemies ſubmit to the ſame treatment, which they would not have failed to inflict on him. But if he was as ſure of his right, as he was of maintaining it from thenceforward by force, why did not he refer his vengeance to the authority of parliament,

and why did he not at leaſt cover it with the forms of juſtice, in order to conceal the blackneſs of his reſentment? The violent paſſions do not voluntarily refer to others the taſk of giving them ſatisfaction, and it is the particular character of hatred, to be pleaſed at the ſight of the blood, ſpilt by a perſon's own hands.

Scarce had *Edward* given the orders which the preſent circumſtances required, when he cauſed the prince of *Wales* to be brought into a pavillion in the park, where he himſelf was with the dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the lord *Haſtings*, and the marquis of *Dorſet*. The guards they had ſet over the young prince, had not refuſed him the ſatisfaction of embracing his ſpouſe. After the queen's retreat ſhe was obſtinately bent on ſtaying in the camp; and ſeeing that her huſband was a priſoner, ſhe was at leaſt encouraged at finding him alive, and that ſhe had now no reaſon for thoſe dreadful terrors that had diſtracted her mind during the battle. All the fear that could now remain was, leſt he ſhould be immediately torn from her arms, to be condemned like his father to the horrors of perpetual impriſonment. But even in this expectation ſhe found conſolation in thinking that ſhe ſhould be permitted to ſpend the reſt

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of her days with him, and this idea ſtill ſupported her on her leaving him. *Edward* ſeeing him appear, roſe ſuddenly, and walking up to him with a kind of impatience, demanded in an imperious tone, what buſineſs he had in his dominions. The prince, without ſhewing the leaſt emotion, replied with a noble pride, that he came to recover the poſſeſſion of a bleſſing that belonged to him, and which had been unjuſtly raviſhed from him. This reply diſconcerted the conqueror, who did not expect to find ſuch firmneſs in a youth of eighteen. He looked upon him for ſome time without making any reply, as if he ſought, during this ſilence to recollect himſelf; but yielding at laſt to the rage which ſwelled his heart, he gave him a blow on the face with his gauntlet, and inſtantly turning his back, the four lords who were with him, ruſhed like ravenous beaſts on *Henry*'s unhappy ſon, and killed him by ſtabbing him with their poniards.

Hiſtorians here loſe ſight of the princeſs of *Wales*, ſo deliver themſelves up to thoſe ſenſations of compaſſion which they ſeem to feel in a more lively manner for his mother. Even *Rapin*, whenever he repreſents the juſt grief of this princeſs, loſes the dry manner which ſeems the characteriſtic of his ſtyle,

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and gives a looſe to deſcriptions in which he forgets himſelf. He appears to heſitate between the opinion of thoſe who aſſert that ſhe retired to a monaſtery, from whence ſhe was taken a day or two after the battle; and the recital of thoſe who make her fall into the enemy's hands immediately after the lines of *Tewkesbury* were forced, half dead with fear and inquietude for the fate of her ſon, and that in this ſtate ſhe was brought to *Edward*. But there is ſo little connection to be found in the following part of the narrative of the laſt mentioned writers, who probably only thought of adorning their works by affecting images, that I the more freely adhere to thoſe whom I have already followed.

Sufficient precaution was not taken in acquainting *Margaret* with the death of the prince, in order to ſoften the firſt emotions of a mother's rage. In ſo elevated a character the exceſs of indignation and grief naturally raiſed the wildeſt tranſports. Thus ſhe abandoned herſelf to all the extravagances that ſuch violent paſſions were capable of producing. She had diſdained to make uſe of tears and lamentations, while ſhe had a proſpect of any relief from the vigour of her reſolution and the aſſiſtance of arms. But in loſing at once both the means and motives

of

of defence, ſhe would only employ that life, which thoſe about her preſerved, in ſpite of herſelf, from her own attempts to call down the juſtice of heaven againſt *Edward* by her imprecations and tears. This was the manner in which ſhe behaved before *Stanley*, who was ſent to ſeize her after the battle. A weak conſolation without doubt; however, theſe impotent menaces, a more humane conqueror would have pardoned on account of her affliction: but after having ſtabbed the ſon, they only ſought for a pretence to get rid of the mother. *Stanley* collected all the injurious expreſſions ſhe had uttered againſt the king; and dragging her from the monaſtery, where ſhe had taken refuge, conducted her to *Worceſter*, where on his preſenting her to this prince, he produced as new crimes thoſe which ſhe had laid to his charge. *Edward* wanted but little of abuſing his power of making uſe of ſuch a miſerable reaſon for taking away her life on the ſpot. However, a moment's reflection on the unworthineſs of this deſign made him reſolve to ſend her to *London*, in order to be tried by the parliament for the crime of high treaſon. The ſentence of the duke of *Somerſet*, and the grand prior was not deferred ſo long; for they were the ſame day led to the ſcaffold, in the market-place at *Worceſter*, with many perſons of leſs note,

note, who were either taken fighting, or in their flight.

Stanley, *Margaret*'s antient enemy, rendered himſelf worthy of his commiſſion by the ſeverity with which he continued to treat her on the road. In vain did ſhe promiſe herſelf that at her entering the Tower, they would grant her the liberty of her huſband's company, or at leaſt that of receiving into her priſon the princeſs of *Wales*, her daughter-in-law, who was carried to *London* immediately after her. She was for ſome days ſhut up in one of the darkeſt dungeons, and they did not relax this rigour, till they had pierced her with another blow that ſeemed wanting to put the finiſhing ſtroke to her misfortunes.

Edward, on his arrival at *London*, laid aſide his deſign of making her ſubmit to the juſtice of parliament; and withheld by the conſideration of her ſex, or by the fear of not finding this tribunal as exaſperated as himſelf againſt a woman, he reſolved to keep her cloſe ſhut up for the reſt of her life, in a ſituation that would prevent her giving him any further diſturbance. But he imagined that to ſnatch from her all hope of ever riſing from the fall, he ought to take from her even the occaſion of

of forming new deſigns. *Henry*, who was ſhut up in the ſame priſon, gave him little inquietude; but of his name *Margaret* might make an ill uſe, and from this ſingle fear he pronounced the ſentence of this unhappy prince. The duke of *Glouceſter* was ambitious of the glory of being his murderer; his hand which had juſt been dipped in the blood of the ſon, was not capable of trembling at piercing the boſom of his father. He did not ſuffer his brother to repeat twice the ſame order, but going alone to the tower, he accompanied this barbarous office with all the circumſtances that might render it an amuſement to his cruel and ſanguinary temper.

Henry lived in the practice of the exerciſes agreeable to ſolitude, and his natural diſpoſition; and of theſe he had contracted a habit during a long impriſonment, which had only been interrupted, by ſeven or eight months of liberty. A few relicks, ſome religious books, a bird with which they had indulg'd him as a favour, and the care of preſerving the neatneſs of his abode, were his continual amuſements, and theſe perhaps bounded all his deſires. His jailors had the humanity to conceal from him the fate of his ſon, and his curioſity did not prompt him to inform himſelf. A prince of this character was at leaſt worthy

worthy of reſpect for his ſimplicity and innocence. But the duke of *Glouceſter*, making a ſport of what would have ſoftened a leſs ſavage heart, at firſt rallied him on his taſte for ſuch ridiculous employments; and declaring that he was upon affairs of a much more ſerious nature, informed him of the laſt misfortunes of his houſe, and of that with which he himſelf was threatened. He then boaſted, that he was willing to put his courage to the proof, that he might obſerve whether he was capable of behaving with any degree of firmneſs at the recital of his misfortunes; and in that he left him time to recollect himſelf, and to ſummon up his ſtrength, that he might at leaſt defer his death by ſome ſhadow of reſiſtance. This was the horrid pleaſantry of a barbarian. The good king as little thought of anſwering him, as of defending his life. Having underſtood by what he had heard, that his laſt hour was come, he ſhewed no other mark of the impreſſion the prince of *Wales*'s death had made on him, than by a kind of ardour to follow him. He threw himſelf on his knees, and lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, preſented his breaſt to the duke, who waited no longer, but plunged his poniard into his heart.

But the concluſion of this ſcene became ſtill more terible. The duke of *Glouceſter*, after he had ſeen the king expire, had his body taken up by the jailors, and being conducted to *Margaret*'s priſon, abruptly preſented her with this dreadful ſpectacle, that he might take from her every ſhadow of doubt of her having loſt all remains of hope or right to the crown of *England*. She fell down void of ſenſe or underſtanding at ſeeing the bloody wound on her huſband's breaſt, which they took the pains to ſhew her. The duke leaving her in this ſtate, cauſed the body to be carried to St. *Paul*'s, where it was expoſed to public view for many days. *Edward*'s hatred was carried ſo far as to refuſe him burial in *Weſtminſter-abbey*, and it was with a ſeeming reluctance that he ſuffered him to be interred at *Chertſey*, which was at that time an obſcure village.

However, as if his death had completely calmed all his fears, he ſoon treated the queen with more mildneſs. An hiſtorian attributes the honour of this change to queen *Elizabeth*, who could not forget the favours ſhe had received from her in her diſgrace. *Margaret* was removed from her dungeon into a commodious apartment, where ſhe had the liberty

berty of receiving her friends, and where the king at laſt even permitted her to ſee indifferently all who pleaſed to viſit her. Hiſtorians here leave a vacancy of ſome years; during which we are ignorant of what ſhe made her particular employment in her priſon. However it muſt neceſſarily be in this interval that ſhe ſaw the earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*, whoſe hiſtory is in the ſequel connected by events, which muſt have had their ſource at another time.

* Jasper Tudor E of Pembroke

Pembroke, who had not been able to haſten his levies ſo as to rejoin her before the battle of *Tewkeſbury*, was obliged, without doubt, to providence for having ſaved him and his nephew from the danger of that fatal battle; but his embarraſſment was not leſs in the mountains of *Wales*, where he continued with his troops. As he alone was too weak to undertake the ſupport of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, he at laſt reſolved to diſband them, and retire with the young earl to a part of the mountains, where he thought he had moſt friends. *Edward*, tho' in appearance ſatisfied at ſeeing them take the part of ſubmiſſion, ardently deſired to have in his power theſe two lords, the only perſons now capable of giving him any uneaſineſs. He could not march with his troops againſt them without

afterwards K Henry VII

* This Jasper Earl of Pembroke was the son of Owen Tudor and of Catharine whose first husband was Henry V Therefore He (Jasper) was half brother of Henry VI

without giving them diſtruſt; this could only ſerve to inform them that they muſt leave the kingdom; and beſides in a country where they had as many friends as there were inhabitants, nothing was ſo uncertain as the ſucceſs of open force. But having recourſe to a plot, he ſent into *Wales* a *Scot*, named *Vaughan*, an artful and reſolute perſon, whom he ordered to employ every method to ſeize or murther them. *Vaughan* in this inſtance, however, wanted diſcretion; for having very impolitickly boaſted of his commiſſion, the earl of *Pembroke* was informed of it, and pretending to be led into the ſnare that was laid for him, ſurpriſed his aſſaſſin, and ſlew him. After ſo bold an action, it became neceſſary that he ſhould think of defending himſelf, or ſeek a retreat out of the kingdom. The laſt of theſe two reſolutions appeared the moſt certain method of preſerving the young earl, who was from thenceforward the only hope of the houſe of *Lancaſter*. But not doubting that the king had taken other meaſures to cauſe them to be ſeized on the neighbouring ports, he formed a deſign extremely raſh in appearance, and yet the only one he thought capable of ſecuring the ſafety of his nephew. This was to diſguiſe themſelves, and to go thro' the kingdom without any attendants to *London*. *Edward* did

did not imagine that he was to ſeek his enemies in the centre of his dominions, nor expected to find them in the midſt of his capital. They happily arrived at *London*, and accidentally found a veſſel ready to ſail for *Brittany*, in which they would have immediately embarked, if the earl of *Pembroke*, who learnt with what eaſe people began to ſee the queen, had not been deſirous of procuring himſelf a ſatisfaction, from whence he hoped to derive great advantages.

The earl of *Richmond*, tho' ſtill very young, was already poſſeſſed of that wiſdom and moderation, which made him afterwards merit the title of the *Solomon* of *England*. Tho' the earl, his uncle, durſt not run the hazard of introducing him into the queen's priſon, he did not fear leaving him for ſome time to his own conduct; and himſelf braving all danger, he ſurmounted by means of his diſguiſe, the difficulties of an enterprize that would have ſunk the courage of a leſs intrepid mind. But he had very juſtly imagined, that he ſhould not be known by any perſon whatſoever, ſince the queen herſelf found great difficulty in piercing thro' his diſguiſe. However, ſhe could not find him ſo changed by the pains he had taken to alter his figure, as ſhe herſelf was by her grief; and

and the ſight of ſo faithful a friend appeared leſs capable of giving her conſolation than of reviving her affliction.

After beſtowing many tears on the remembrance of her misfortunes, ſhe expreſſed not only her gratitude to the earl for the ſentiments of friendſhip which made him ſtill intereſt himſelf in her concerns, but as much joy as ſhe was capable of feeling, at her being informed that he was going to *France*, with that young branch of the houſe of *Lancaſter*. This was a proof that ſhe ſtill ſympathized in the fortune of that unhappy houſe; and the earl who came with this hope already applauded himſelf at ſeeing her enter of her own accord into this diſpoſition. But this ſhe ſoon let him know, was no more than a bare ſenſation of her mind, to which neither her inclinations nor her fortune would permit her to add any thing farther. Ambition, added to the tenderneſs ſhe felt for her ſon, ſhe ſaid, had been ſufficient to engage her in a painful courſe; and other paſſions, which ſhe did not diſown, had increaſed the natural ardour that had made her ſacrifice all the repoſe of her life to theſe two prevailing diſpoſitions. But having gathered ſuch bitter fruit from them, ſhe could have no other employment to fill up the reſt of her life, beſides that

that of weeping over her misfortunes; ſince all her paſſions were vaniſhed with the motives that had given birth to them. She then confeſſed, that the joy ſhe felt at finding he was going to *France*, only proceeded from her private intereſt, that had made her wiſh to find ſome faithful friend, whom ſhe might intruſt with a particular commiſſion to the king her father. Though ſhe had been accuſtomed by the viciſſitudes in her fortune to find nothing ſurpriſing in the moſt dreadful diſgrace, ſhe could not help feeling very great uneaſineſs, at perceiving herſelf neglected by a parent, who had given her no proof of his remembrance, or of his concern for her impriſonment. Yet all her proſpects of relief depended on the ſollicitations of that prince to obtain her liberty, and the uſe ſhe would make of it, being no more than to devote herſelf to another kind of impriſonment, in the firſt convent that would conſent to receive her, tho' ſhe thought ſhe might be permitted to deſire this change, ſince ſhe ſought for no other advantage from it than what regarded her eternal ſalvation.

The earl, who did not expect to find her filled with this indifference for the affairs of *England*, and who could not perſuade himſelf that ſhe had renounced all thoughts of being revenged

revenged on *Edward*, took occaſion to interrupt her, on the fear ſhe diſcovered of having no other reſource beſides the ſollicitations of the king her father. He put her in mind of a protection much more certain in that of the young earl his own nephew, whoſe great qualities were already known to the whole nation; and let her know, that tho' his age and circumſtances did not yet permit him publickly to make known his pretenſions, he was going into *France* to ſtrengthen his deſigns, the foundations of which he had already laid. At the firſt ſucceſs of his enterprizes, *Margaret*, to whom the houſe of *Lancaſter* had ſo many obligations, ought to depend on being re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of all her honours, with more marks of diſtinction than the *Engliſh* had ever granted to a queen dowager. What he deſired from her in this interval, was only to awaken the hopes of her friends, who had the liberty of viſiting her, and to hold herſelf in readineſs to ſecond the earl's projects with her uſual firmneſs and natural good ſenſe, at the moment when ſhe ſhould be delivered from the gates of her priſon. He nevertheleſs added, that if ſhe had any thing to communicate to her father, he ſhould the more freely take upon himſelf the charge of this commiſſion, as he had need, both on his nephew's and his own ac-

count, of a powerful recommendation to *Louis* XI. and that nothing could appear more agreeable to them than to appear with one from the king of *Sicily*. He explained his deſign of paſſing over to *Britany*, by taking advantage of a veſſel, which only waited for a wind in order to ſet ſail. In ſhort, flattering himſelf with having made an impreſſion on the queen's mind, he took charge of a letter, which ſhe entruſted him with for her father, and left her extremely ſatisfied with this conference.

Margaret did not let him know by her anſwer, that ſhe entirely yielded to what he had propoſed: but the earl thought it ſufficient that he had opened to her a part of his ſentiments; and this made him hope that ſhe would conſider young *Richmond*'s cauſe as her own; and that in waiting for an opportunity to ſerve him openly, ſhe would keep alive the affection and zeal of thoſe of his party. He embarked with his nephew aboard a veſſel belonging to *Britany*, and beſides the advantage of a ſpeedy departure, he rejoiced at his finding this veſſel, which ſeemed to render their ſafety more certain, by ſparing them the danger of a paſſage to *Calais*. They had indeed a very happy voyage; but before they left *Britany*, in order to repair to *Aix*, where the

the king of *Sicily* ſtill reſided, they were led by curioſity to viſit the duke's court, and were there arreſted without their being able to ſuſpect to whom they owed ſo ill an office. Some hiſtorians have pretended, that they made themſelves known to the duke, and that having demanded the permiſſion to paſs through his dominions, they received for anſwer, that they were capable of being ſo very uſeful to him, that he ſhould detain them in ſpite of themſelves: But I reject, without heſitation, an opinion, that at once diſhonours the generoſity of the duke of *Britany*, and the prudence of the earl of *Pembroke*. The opinion of many other writers appears to me more probable; which is, that having appeared at the court of *Nancy* without diſguiſe, tho' under borrowed names, they were known by ſome of *Edward*'s party, who informed the duke who they were; and that at a time when the truce between *England* and *Britany* had been ſo often violated, that neither of the two parties knew on what he had to depend, *Peter Landais*, the duke's miniſter, prevailed on his maſter to cauſe them to be arreſted, from the ſole view of obtaining better terms from *Edward*, by letting him ſee the eaſe with which he might give him diſturbance. Even the manner, in which the duke treated his illuſtrious priſoners, ſeems to juſtify his

intentions. He assigned them the city of *Vannes* for their abode, with a considerable pension; and tho' they had guards, which made this city a real prison, they were nevertheless allowed all the honours due to their birth.

The hopes which *Margaret* had formed of acquainting her father with her affairs, being thus disappointed, by a misfortune of which she could not be informed; she was so much enraged, that she thought she had a right to reproach those persons who stood nearest related to her by blood, and told them, that after she had resisted all the effects of hatred, on account of the misfortunes brought upon her by her enemies, she could not support the thought of being abandoned by those from whom she had a right to expect all the offices of friendship. It was probably about this time, that, finding no body proper to send to *Aix* to revive the king of *Sicily*'s tenderness, she caused a letter to be wrote to the earl of *Oxford*, who, after the battle of *Tewksbury*, had happily escaped into *France*. This letter, which she herself dictated, was given to the earl, and so raised his compassion, that from an emotion of zeal, that can hardly be paral-

lelled

ſelled in hiſtory, he undertook to open the doors of her priſon. The earl, after having attempted in vain to move *Louis* XI. who ſaw that *Edward* was ſo well eſtabliſhed on the throne, as to dread his power, placed his confidence in his own reſolution. With the money he procured by the ſale of ſome jewels he had carried with him in his flight, he engaged ſixty-five men, part of whom were *Engliſh*, and part *French*, and having bound them by a frightful oath to ſecond him with equal fidelity and courage, he ſecretly embarked with them on the coaſt of *Normandy*, without any other precaution than a paſſport, which *Louis* XI. could not refuſe him. As he had married one of the earl of *Warwick*'s ſiſters, he expected to find in *Vauclerc* the ſame zeal and affection, which this gentleman had conſtantly ſhewn for his brother-in law; and therefore without engaging him in any open ſtep that might injure his fortune, he only propoſed to truſt him with his deſign, in order to prevail on him to favour the queen's paſſage after ſhe had made her eſcape. But on his going to *Calais*, the firſt news, which ſome of his men heard on their landing, was, that the brave *Vauclerc* was dead two days before, and that there was ſome ſuſpicion of his having been ſecretly

poiſoned by *Edward*'s orders, who could not forgive his fidelity to the earl of *Warwick*; and his having acted with ſuch precaution in the government of his important poſt, he dared not to puniſh him openly. This diſappointment did not leſſen the earl's ardour, who ſailed to the coaſt of *England*, and had the boldneſs to land with a part of his men, leaving the reſt to guard his veſſel. He choſe indeed a ſecure place, in the neighbourhood of a gentleman whoſe name was *Row*, on whom he placed a perfect confidence. He propoſed to reach *London* in the night with the moſt reſolute of his men, and to take advantage of the eaſe with which people viſited the queen, to carry her away by addreſs or by force. But *Row*, who was really his friend, inſpired him with other ſentiments, of which it is difficult to decide, whether fear or courage had the greateſt ſhare. He informed him, that the baſtard of *Falconbridge* had loſt his head ſome days before for having undertaken to deliver the queen from her impriſonment, and that this princeſs was more cloſely confined than before. *Thomas Nevill*, natural ſon to the lord *Falconbridge*, was formerly created vice-admiral of the channel under the adminiſtration of the earl of *Warwick*; but having loſt this poſt after *Edward*'s

being

being again fixed on the throne, he had ſtill preſerved a ſufficient authority over a few veſſels to engage them for ſome time to ſerve *Margaret* and her ſon. His ſervices at ſea could have no other motive than to vex *Edward*, by pillaging ſeveral poſts where the inhabitants were of his own party; but the indignation he felt at the king's cruelty after the battle of *Tewkesbury*, had induced him to ſail up the *Thames*, where his boldneſs even put the king in ſome danger of loſing his life or liberty. However, his imprudence in ſtaying too long on ſhore with a part of his men, gave this prince time to advance with ſome troops which he had in readineſs near *London*. Thus *Nevill* found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſhutting himſelf up in *Sandwich*, whither he retired with his men in good order, while his veſſels, being informed of his danger, made haſte to put out to ſea. He would infallibly have ſunk under the forces brought by *Edward*, which would ſoon have been very numerous, if he had not propoſed an accommodation, the conditions of which were accepted. But he was ſcarce free at *London*, when having gained acceſs to the Tower, it was diſcovered that he had formed a deſign to deliver the queen; and the king, who ſought for an opportunity to puniſh him for the crimes he had pardoned,

ordered him immediately to execution. *Row* made the earl acquainted with theſe circumſtances, leſs with a deſign to cool him, than to inſpire him with a more extenſive proſpect. The baſtard's veſſels were ſtill cruiſing on the coaſt, and it was not doubted but that the fear of chaſtiſement, or a love of liberty, would keep up this diſorder, ſo long as *Edward* did not employ a ſuperior force to reduce them.

'Why don't you, ſaid *Row*, engage them 'to ſecond your enterprize? or rather, why 'do you not ſeize ſo fine an opportunity of 'attempting ſomething of greater conſe-'quence againſt *Henry*'s aſſaſſins.'

This propoſal was ſo greedily received by the earl of *Oxford*, that he preſently returned to his veſſel, and had no other embarraſment but that of finding thoſe whoſe aſſiſtance he was ſure of obtaining. He did not doubt but that for their own ſafety, they would chuſe to caſt anchor in ſuch places where they might at a moment's warning put out to ſea; but he unhappily turned towards the ſouth of *England*, and coaſting along, he flattered himſelf for ſeveral days that he could not fail of finding them. However, after having encompaſſed part of the iſland, even as far as *Cornwall*, the want of water and proviſions obliged

obliged him to land at *St. Michael*'s mount. He had nothing to apprehend in a place ſo far from the capital; but on the contrary, the inhabitants having declared for him, at the firſt report of his name, he flattered himſelf, perhaps upon too ſlight grounds, that he might, without the aſſiſtance of the veſſels he was in ſearch of, raiſe a party in that county that would be the more conſiderable, from his ſeeming to require only a voluntary aſſiſtance. With this hope he landed with all his men, and cauſing it to be ſpread abroad, that he was come to revenge the cruel murther of *Henry* and the prince of *Wales*, and to ſupport the intereſt of their family in the perſon of the young earl of *Richmond*, in a few days he found himſelf at the head of a more numerous body, than he had dared to hope for in ſo ſhort a time. But his troops wanted arms, or were only furniſhed with old ſwords and croſs-bows, which began to be of little ſervice, at a time when fire-arms were daily brought to greater perfection. Before he was able to obtain the ſuccours from the neighbouring counties, neceſſary to ſtrengthen thoſe he obtained from *Cornwall*, the lord *Stanley* advanced with ſuch boldneſs at the head of fifteen thouſand men, that having at his firſt appearance diſperſed the mutineers, he forced the earl to ſhut

himſelf up with his ſixty-five men in the caſtle of *St. Michael*'s mount. Though the ſituation of the place rendered him capable of a long defence, there was ſo little appearance of his being able to draw the leaſt advantage from it, and the earl was ſo certain of his fate, if he ſhould be forced to ſurrender, that he choſe preſently after to capitulate. As *Stanley* had always been his friend, he obtained ſuch poſitive aſſurances of having his life granted him, and even ſuch flattering hopes of favour, and the reſtitution of his eſtates, that being gained over by his promiſes, he put himſelf into his hands, on the faith of his honour and friendſhip. However, though the king durſt not violate the engagements of his general, he anſwered but ill the earl's expectations, with reſpect to his liberty and fortune. He was not only condemned to a perpetual impriſonment in the caſtle of *Hames* near *Calais*, but the rigour of his judges extending even to his wife, who was the earl of *Warwick*'s ſiſter; ſhe was ſtripped of her eſtate, which till this time they had not thought of taking from her.

Though *Margaret* could not be ignorant of the earl of *Oxford*'s misfortune, ſhe was very far from imagining, that ſhe had any concern in his enterprize; but forming as ill

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a judgment of his proceedings as of thoſe of the earl of *Pembroke*, ſhe thought the memory of the benefits ſhe had conferred entirely eraced from the hearts of her friends, and every way ſhut up by which ſhe might convey her letters or complaints to the court of the king her father. There nevertheleſs remained one, which ſhe had hitherto refuſed to accept, from the affection ſhe thought due to one of her moſt faithful ſervants, whom ſhe would not wholly involve in her ruin. The brave duke of *Exeter*, who had been ſo conſtantly the companion of her misfortunes, and who had not eſcaped from the battle of *Barnet*, till he had ſpilt part of his blood in her ſervice, had retired, after his ſuffering other misfortunes, to the ſanctuary of *Weſtminſter*, where he had been a long time before he recovered his health. Though he could not wander from this retreat without expoſing his life to dangers more certain than thoſe of a battle, he had baniſhed all fear to procure the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the queen, and being introduced ſeveral times into her priſon, by means of diverſe diſguiſes, he ſympathiſed with her on the unhappy end of all their hopes. Having diſcovered that ſhe longed for nothing more than to acquaint the king of *Sicily* with her affairs, he could not avoid offering, at all hazards, to undertake the

voyage to *Aix*, and to ſhorten it by his diligence. But the queen, who well knew that every ſtep he took out of *London* would expoſe him to the danger of loſing his life, was ſo far from conſenting to this propoſal, that on the contrary, ſhe exhorted him to make his peace with *Edward*; and the dutcheſs, his wife, being that prince's ſiſter, there ſeemed the greateſt probability that he might promiſe himſelf every thing from ſo powerful an interceſſion. *Margaret*'s ſolicitations, in ſhort, forced him to take this method. He ſent to deſire the dutcheſs, who, under pretences that were not void of probability, then diſpenſed with ſeeing him, to implore the clemency of the king, her brother, in his favour; but inſtead of anſwering his intentions, ſhe demanded a ſeparation by the ordinary courſe of law. *Edward* affected not to concern himſelf in this affair; tho' nobody was ignorant, that he ſecretly ſollicited the judges againſt the duke, and his refuſal to receive his ſubmiſſions could leave no doubt of the perſonal hatred he entertained againſt him. Their deciſion was ſo little favourable, that on naming him in the ſentence, they avoided giving him the titles due to his birth and rank, as grandſon to one of *Henry* the IV's ſiſters.

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He was then reduced to the neceſſity of ſtaying in his ſanctuary without any hope of favour, or any thing to ſubſiſt upon, but what he privately received from his friends. This greatly affected the queen, and tho' the fears that had prevented her conſenting to his voyage, ought to have been encreaſed, ſhe was the firſt in adviſing him, to make uſe of every expedient to regain his liberty. She would not ſuffer him to expoſe himſelf to new dangers in order to ſee her, but having conveyed to him a letter for king *Rene*, ſhe charged him to take care of a life, that ſhe found was rendered inſupportable by her misfortunes, and that might be paſſed more agreeably at her father's court. He ſet out with only one domeſtic, and his departure was not known ſoon enough to give room to ſuſpect that *Edward* had cauſed him to be purſued. However, he had ſcarce paſſed *Rocheſter*, which he made in his way to gain ſome diſtant port in *Kent*, than he found that he was dogged. But as this was at firſt only by a ſingle man it did not give him much uneaſineſs. He even rejected the thoughts of waiting for him without any marks of diſtruſt, and then killing him; but his ſervant, who was more inclined to ſuſpicion, preſſed him to do it, and even foretold that without this precaution

caution he would infallibly be ruined: but he did not imagine that his ſervant's ſuſpicions were ſo juſt till he had got ſome miles further, when he ſaw that he was followed by twelve or fifteen armed men. He had no other reſource but to fly to a wood, at the entrance of which he ſtill obſerved the faces of his enemies, who redoubled their ſpeed, in order to take the ſame way. He puſhed forward into the thickeſt and moſt difficult part, the roads of which he was entirely unacquainted with, from the hope of croſſing it, and of being ſoon able to reach the ſea. But notwithſtanding thoſe who purſued him could advance no faſter than he, and tho' he at laſt quitted his horſe that he might penetrate the places thickeſt ſet with trees, yet the traces of his footſteps, which he could not avoid leaving behind him, were always ſufficient to enable them to follow him. Impatient of this conſtraint, he would a thouſand times have ruſhed on his purſuers, if from his incapacity of reſiſting ſuch a number, he could have been certain of dying in the combat; but being in danger of being ſtopped in ſpite of himſelf, and having no other proſpect of ending his life but by a ſhameful puniſhment, he took a reſolution that could be juſtified by nothing but his deſpair. He ſtopped almoſt at the extremity of the wood, when he ſaw

that

that there was leſs appearance than ever of his ſaving himſelf by flight; and giving the queen's letter to his valet, with all the money he had in his purſe, he without making known his deſign, conjured him by every motive capable of making an impreſſion on a man of this ſort, ſpeedily to croſs the ſea, and to carry the letter to king *René*. At laſt, without adding one complaining word, or giving one ſigh, he drew his ſword, and ſtabbed himſelf to the heart. The cries of his ſervant became a very certain guide to his enemies. They ſeized his body, which they kept for ſome days on the ſand, making all the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, who came to gratify their curioſity, pay for the ſight of this ſpectacle. The duke of *Exeter* was the laſt of the deſcendants of the collateral line of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and the only one who could diſpute the earl of *Richmond*'s right to the crown. *Edward* could not conceal his joy at the news of this fatal adventure, and the rewards he gave thoſe who brought him the corpſe, appeared an indecency even to thoſe of his own party.

This was enough for ever to extinguiſh the leaſt ſpark of hope in the heart of *Margaret*. She therefore thought of nothing but confining herſelf to a ſmall number of ſad and mournful

mournful exerciſes, which ſhe from thence forward regarded as the only employment that was to fill up the reſt of her life. Tho' the baſtard of *Falconbridge* had occaſioned her loſing, by the king's order, the ſhadow of that liberty ſhe had enjoyed in her priſon, ſhe had not yet been denied the ſight of the princeſs of *Wales*, and the dutcheſs of *Clarence*, who from ſentiments of compaſſion were ſometimes led to viſit her in order to give her comfort by a few moments converſation. But now imagining that ſhe was a miſerable object of the wrath of heaven, and that the leaſt intercourſe with her became fatal to her beſt friends, ſhe reſolved to deprive herſelf of the viſits of thoſe, who had hitherto been her only conſolation. This was a declaration that ſhe would renounce all commerce with the human ſpecies; for to whom could ſhe grant what ſhe refuſed to the princeſs of *Wales*? The unhappy daughter of the earl of *Warwick* had herſelf no other relief to ſoften her misfortunes. I ſtill continue to give her a title, which ſhe ceaſed to bear in *England*, eſpecially after the king had given that province to young *Edward*, his only ſon. But the partizans of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, tho' continually watched, and in a manner cruſhed under a yoke that would ſcarce ſuffer them to breathe, ſtill gave her that

that dear name, from their affection to the memory of a prince, whoſe loſs had deprived them of happineſs. She was ſo afflicted at the part the queen had taken, that her health, which had ſenſibly declined ſince her huſband's being murdered, was ſtill more weakened by a violent illneſs, and another incident, which ſuddenly added to her diſgrace, completely rendered her one of the moſt unhappy perſons of her ſex.

The queen had not ſo much cauſe as ſhe had imagined to accuſe the affection, and to complain of the forgetfulneſs of her father. Beſides the continual ſollicitations he had made at *Edward*'s court, to procure his daughter's liberty, he had, on the firſt news of her misfortunes, diſpatched to *London* a *French* gentleman, named *Mont-Robert*, who had orders to procure her liberty whatever it coſt. As the truce ſtill ſubſiſted between *England* and *France*, *Mont-Robert* made no difficulty of going directly to *Calais*, from whence he was in no fear of being permitted to paſs to *Dover*. But there had ariſen between the *Engliſh* of that city, and the *Flemmings*, a diſpute relating to a mercantile truce that had not been well obſerved on the part of *England*, under the laſt government of the earl of *Warwick*; and they were ſtill on ſuch bad terms

terms, that *Mont-Robert* was ſeized at the gates of *Calais*, by ſome merchants of *Bruges*, who had in vain made their complaints to the governor of their having had a great quantity of merchandize taken from them by the *Engliſh*. On ſeeing a man arrive in a very good equipage, and taking him for an *Engliſhman*, on account of the language of that nation, of which being a perfect maſter he affected to ſpeak, on his approaching one of their cities, they ſeized him as an hoſtage for the ſecurity of their effects.

Mont-Robert was ſuddenly carried to *Bruges*, but gained nothing by publiſhing their miſtake, as his being a *Frenchman* did not entitle him to be favourably heard by a people, who were at open war with *France*. He nevertheleſs took advantage of the truce at laſt ſigned between *Louis* XI. and the duke of *Burgundy*, to obtain leave to return to *France*, when not having loſt ſight of his maſter's orders, he immediately ſet ſail for *London*, where he did not arrive till after the laſt events I have related. His endeavours to gain admiſſion into *Margaret*'s priſon, however, proved ineffectual, either from the renewal of *Edward*'s rigour, or the obſtinacy of that princeſs in admitting nobody into her ſolitude; but he no ſooner learnt that the princeſs of

Wales

Wales had always been excepted by the king's orders, than he hoped that ſhe would get him admiſſion into the Tower, or that ſhe might introduce him amongſt her attendants. She was then detained by a violent illneſs, which would not permit her to take this care upon herſelf; but judging by *Margaret*'s deſires of the conſolation ſhe would receive from a meſſenger from her father, ſhe conjured her uncle, the archbiſhop of *York*, to ſpare no pains in order to render her ſo good an office. The archbiſhop was the ſame brother to the earl of *Warwick*, who had ſuffered *Edward* to eſcape from his priſon at *Middleham*, and who had been rewarded for this ſervice at the battle of *Barnet*, by an act of oblivion, that pardoned all his crimes without exception. But he was the earl of *Warwick*'s brother, which rendered him ſo odious to the new court, that he ſeldom choſe to appear there, and being detained in *London* by the princeſs of *Wales*'s illneſs; whoſe ſubſiſtence depended entirely on his bounty, he regulated his conduct by the fortune of his houſe and party. His pity for the queen, and his complaiſance in endeavouring to gratify the deſires of his niece, made him attempt to introduce *Mont-Robert* to the Tower. Tho' he took no indirect meaſures, the officer to whom he addreſſed himſelf, thought of ingratiating himſelf

himſelf into king *Edward*'s favour, by informing him that that prelate had attempted to corrupt him, and on ſo frivolous an occaſion he was confined for the reſt of his life in the caſtle of *Guiſnes*; however, his puniſhment was ſhortened by his dying ſoon after he was put in priſon; but his death was preceded by an unexampled act of violence on the perſon of his niece,

The duke of *Glouceſter*, who conceived a paſſion for her, had not dared to offer her his hand, at a time when her being ſupported by her uncle, made him fear leſt he ſhould meet with too much reſiſtance; he therefore took advantage of the archbiſhop's impriſonment to ſteal her away, and to put her under the neceſſity of marrying him in ſpite of herſelf. Tho' ſhe had been enabled by the ſtrength of her conſtitution to reſiſt her grief, the confuſion ſhe was under at being married to the murderer both of her huſband and father-in-law, was a perpetual puniſhment for ſo ſhameful a misfortune, and made her for ever renounce the conſolation of ſeeing the queen and all her friends. We ſhall ſee that her death was the worthy conſequence of ſo monſtrous a marriage.

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Mont-Robert was for a long time in *London* without being able to execute his commiſſion. *Edward*, who could not be ignorant of what it was that brought him to *England*, affected to know very little of the ſervice which the archbiſhop of *York* was to render him, and left him to find out the means of ſucceeding more happily. Were we to judge of the ſentiments of this prince by this conduct, and by that which he obſerved for ſeveral years, we ſhould be tempted to believe, that by diminiſhing part of the ſeverity with which he began to treat the queen, by cauſing her to be cloſe confined, his intention was only to diſcover thoſe who were ſo attached to her intereſt, as to uſe, in ſpite of every other conſideration, the liberty he granted of ſeeing her. Thus this ſhort favour could only paſs for a piece of new treachery, than which nothing could produce more cruel effects, ſince it ſerved to ruin all the faithful ſervants the queen had left.

Margaret was not the only perſon who deſpaired of her liberty. While ſhe thought herſelf abandoned by the whole world, and therefore endeavoured to forget it, the king, her father, ſpared no means of moving the inflexible *Edward*, not only by his own

licitations, but by thoſe of the greateſt princes in *Europe*. To thoſe who repreſented, that the moſt implacable hatred ought in the end to be lulled aſleep, he proteſted that his own was forgotten, but that he feared the queen's; and had experienced it too much, for him not to know what he had to expect from it. Thus the emperor *Frederick*, the king of *France*, the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*, had thoſe endeavours repulſed, which they had twenty times renewed, and which he had always received as troubleſome importunities.

However, at a conjuncture, when there was little room to expect that *Edward* would change his ſentiments, he lent an ear to new propoſals, which ſuddenly cauſed a change in *Margaret*'s fortune. This was an event in itſelf extremely important with reſpect to *France*, and it is ſurpriſing that our hiſtorians ſhould have taken ſuch little pains to dive into the bottom of it, ſince it deſerves to be explained at large.

The duke of *Burgundy* took advantage of the truce he had made with *France*, to extend his conqueſts on the ſide of *Germany*. He had taken occaſion from a quarrel that aroſe between *Robert* of *Bavaria*, and the brother to the landgrave of *Heſſe*, in relation to the arch-

archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*, to lay ſiege to *Nuz*, an enterprize from which in the end, he gained as little advantage as he did glory, but which immediately alarmed *Louis* XI, whoſe intereſt required that he ſhould not leave him time to encreaſe his power. To put a ſtop, therefore, to this prince's deſign, *Louis* on the one hand united againſt him the duke of *Lorrain*, the duke of *Auſtria*, and the *Swiſs*; whilſt on the other, he engaged the emperor *Frederick*, to march to *Nuz*, with a powerful army to force him to raiſe the ſiege. What gave the greateſt vexation to the duke of *Brugundy*, was, that *Louis* pretending all this while to preſerve a perfect neutrality, magnified the fidelity with which he obſerved the truce. The deſire of revenge, as much as the neceſſity of delivering him from ſo preſſing an embarraſſment, put the duke on making a powerful diverſion, by drawing the king of *England* into *France*. He ſent ambaſſadors to perſuade him to make war on their common enemy, and promiſed not only to join him with all his forces, but ſticking at nothing in the heat of his reſentment, he made him hope, that the conſtable of *St. Pol* would deliver up to him *St. Quintin*, that the duke of *Brittany* would enter into their league, and that by the intelligence which that prince and he carried on in *France*, they ſhould throw

throw *Louis* XI. into a confuſion, that would render the conqueſt of his dominions as eaſy as it had been formerly under the reign of *Charles* VI.

Edward, who had nouriſhed a thouſand projects of revenge againſt *Louis*, ever ſince the ſuccours he had granted to *Margaret* and the earl of *Warwick*, received this overture with tranſports of joy. He immediately named plenipotentiaries, which with thoſe of the duke, ſigned ſeveral treaties, which are to be found in *Rymer's Fœdera*, the articles of which can never be enough admired. After the general convention to undertake, at their common expence, the conqueſt of *France*, the two princes entered on the diviſion of the fruits of their victory. *Edward*, to recompence the duke for the aſſiſtance he expected to receive from him, made him a preſent beforehand of the dutchy of *Bar*, the earldoms of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, *Guiſe*, and a number of other ſtates, and renounced in favour of the duke the homage of all the provinces of which he was actually in poſſeſſion, that is to ſay, of *Burgundy*, *Flanders* and *Artois*, and thoſe that were granted him by the treaty. He pretended that this donation, or this conveyance, was as firm as if the ſtates-general of *France* had given

their

their conſent to it, and he engaged to make them confirm his whole will and pleaſure, when he ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the crown. In ſhort, carrying their prudence ſo far as to prevent the leaſt difficulties, the two princes agreed by a particular act, that *Edward* and his ſucceſſors ſhould always have the liberty of of entering *Reims* to be crowned there; a neceſſary precaution, becauſe *Champagne* was comprehended under the ſtates of the duke.

The *Engliſh* hiſtorians, who have perceived the ridicule of a treaty of this nature, excuſe *Edward*, by pretending that he only diſſembled his ſuffering himſelf to be gained over by the hope of conquering *France*, to put himſelf in the poſſeſſion of only *Guienne* and *Normandy*. But yet, he was not wanting in making all thoſe preparations that were required from the importance of the enterprize. He ſent ambaſſadors to all the courts in *Europe*, even to thoſe of *Hungary* and *Sicily*, to preſs them to enter into his league. He ſecured himſelf againſt the inroads of the *Scots*, by marrying one of his daughters to the eldeſt ſon of the king of *Scotland*. He raiſed a large army and extraordinary ſubſidies. And, in ſhort, he embarked at *Sandwich* on the 20th of *June*, 1475. An hiſtorian aſſures us, that he found at *Dover* five hundred

tranſports, which the duke of *Burgundy* had ſent thither. *Mezeray* ſays, that three weeks were taken up in ſending over the *Engliſh* troops to *Calais*; which ſhews that they had either few veſſels, or a very great number of troops. However it is not eaſy to know the preciſe number of the *Engliſh* forces; but *Philip de Commines*, who was then in the ſervice of *Louis* XI. aſſures us, that a king of *England* never led into *France* ſuch a numerous army.

The firſt ſteps taken by *Edward* were anſwerable to his treaty, and agreeable to his preparations; for he ſent from *Calais* a herald to *Louis*, to ſummon him to reſtore to him the whole kingdom of *France*, and to make a declaration of war in caſe of a refuſal. If this bravado muſt have appeared ſingular to the king, his anſwer and conduct were not the leſs ſurpriſing to the *Engliſh*; for he replied by a herald, that he was well informed, that it was not of his own motion that *Edward* came to trouble him in his dominions, but at the ſollicitation of the duke of *Burgundy*, and the conſtable of *St. Pol*, and that he might aſſure his maſter that both would deceive him; and in ſhort, he made the herald a preſent of three hundred crowns, and thirty ells of velvet to make him a robe.

Without

Without diving into the reaſons of ſo great a ſecurity, *Edward* muſt have had very preſent and very infallible reſources, to preſerve ſo firm a conduct. Indeed the duke of *Burgundy* ſtill carried on the ſiege of *Nuz*, and in ſpite of the emperor's approach, was obſtinately bent on continuing it. The hope of taking that place in the ſight of all the emperor's forces, rendered him inſenſible to the loſs of a province that was taken from him by *Sigiſmund* duke of *Auſtria*, to the ravages made by the duke of *Lorrain* in that of *Luxemburgh*, and to the loſs of many towns that were taken from him by *France*, as ſoon as the truce was expired. If *Louis*'s relying on the diſpoſitions of this prince, had made him behave with ſuch perfect tranquillity on *Edward*'s arrival, he had reaſon to applaud his own penetration, when the duke, after having put an end to the ſiege of *Nuz*, found his army in ſo bad a ſituation, that inſtead of marching to join the *Engliſh*, he was forced to put it into quarters of refreſhment. He went almoſt alone to *Edward*, who received neither from him, nor the count *de St. Pol*, the ſuccours he had expected; and ſeeing no appearance of the riſings he had been made to hope for in the provinces of the kingdom, began to fear, that he had engaged himſelf too imprudently. The *Engliſh* themſelves

relate, that being under the greateſt embarraſſment, and even diſtruſting thoſe who had called him, he ſought the means of withdrawing himſelf from ſo raſh an enterprize, without openly wounding his honour. He cauſed a *French* priſoner to be releaſed, the only one he had made ſince his landing; and by his order, the lords *Howard* and *Stanley*, two of his principal confidents, charged the priſoner to preſent their reſpects to the king, his maſter. *Louis* underſtood the ſenſe of this commiſſion. He judged that the *Engliſh* deſired to enter on a negotiation; and that being aſhamed of making the firſt advances, they made him a kind of tacit propoſal to ſpare them this confuſion, by ſome propoſal for an accommodation. The impatience he was under of being delivered from them rendered him the leſs delicate. *Philip de Commines* relates, that he cauſed a perſon of little note, but of good ſenſe, to be cloathed like a herald, and that having given him full inſtructions, he ordered him to go to the two lords, who had ſent their compliments to the king, and they preſented him to *Edward*, who, in the diſpoſition he was in, could not fail of giving him a very agreeable reception. In a few days plenipotentiaries were named on the part of both monarchs: Theſe aſſembled at *Peguigny*, where, on the

29th

29th of *Auguſt*, they concluded a treaty, in which the two principal articles were, the marriage of the dauphin with *Edward*'s eldeſt daughter, and the departure of the *Engliſh* army. But before the departure of the plenipotentiaries, *Louis* made a propoſal to hold a conference with the king of *England* at *Peguigny-bridge*, without any other formality, except a bar which was ſet up between them. He appeared there firſt, accompanied by the cardinal of *Bourbon*, and five other lords. *Edward* arrived almoſt at the ſame time, with the ſame number of attendants; and having both confirmed the articles of the treaty by an oath, they began a very agreeable converſation, which laſted for a long time. *Louis* made a propoſal to *Edward* to ſpend ſame days at *Paris*, promiſing him that the ladies of that city ſhould ſpare no pains to procure him all kinds of pleaſure; and if it ſhould happen, he told him, that he ſhould commit ſome peccadilloes, he would offer him the cardinal *de Bourbon* for his confeſſor, who was not very rigid. *Edward*, in his anſwers, returned the raillery. In ſhort, *Louis* made a ſign to the lords who were with him to retire, and the *Engliſh* lords the ſome moment followed their example. The two princes being left at liberty, began a more ſerious converſation, in which among

other ſubjects, *Louis* renewed his inſtances in favour of queen *Margaret*. It is not known what motives he urged to influence the king of *England*; but having ſworn to a truce of ſeven years, and being by this mutually led to ſo good an underſtanding, as to chuſe on each ſide arbitrators, that were from thenceforward to terminate all their differences, it is to be preſumed that *Edward*'s fears, having ſcarcely any other foundation but from the ſide of *France*, he thought himſelf wholly delivered from them, on his finding that king diſpoſed to live in conſtant peace with him. *Louis*, beſides the powerful arguments he with the utmoſt warmth uſed in *Margaret*'s cauſe, joined to his entreaties the offer of fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom, which had doubtleſs as much weight as his reaſons in making an impreſſion on *Edward*'s mind. This convention appeared to the two princes of ſuch conſequence as to deſerve to be inſerted in the treaty.

It was nevertheleſs ſome time before it was made public. *Louis* reſerved to himſelf the pleaſure of informing king *René* of ſuch an agreeable piece of news; and the king of *England*, forgetting with a good grace his reſentments and fears, was reſolved that *Margaret* ſhould receive from none but himſelf the

the firſt aſſurances of her liberty. *Comines* relates, that after this interview *Louis* repaired to *Amiens*, where the lord *Howard* followed him in quality of hoſtage. While this prince was waſhing his hands in order to ſit down to table, *Howard* put him in mind of the propoſal he had made to his maſter, of his going to ſpend ſome days at *Paris*. *Louis* made no anſwer; on which *Howard* frequently reſumed the ſame ſubject during the repaſt; but the king always pretended not to hear him; and when he left the table, he cauſed him to be told, that his affairs not permitting him to return ſo ſoon to *Paris*, he was ſorry that he could not accept of the honour which the king of *England* appeared diſpoſed to do him. *Comines* remarks, that he feared nothing ſo much as *Edward*'s growing fond of *France*, and repenting of what he had imprudently advanced, that he paſſionately longed to ſee *Edward* turn his back in order to return to his iſland. However, he honoured him by the careſſes and liberalities he beſtowed on the lords of king *Edward*'s court. The *Engliſh* army having approached *Amiens*, he cauſed the gates to be opened, and an order was given for the maſters of all the taverns to treat ſuch of the *Engliſh* kindly as ſhould enter the city, without requiring any thing from them in return; and he ſent

the king, his new ally, a preſent of three hundred waggons loaden with wine, to be diſtributed amongſt his army. In ſhort, he ſpared nothing to prevent *Edward*'s ſeeing the weakneſs of the reaſons that had alarmed him, and the ridicule he had expoſed himſelf to, by ſuch a fooliſh and vain expedition.

Whatever deſire the two kings had ſhewn for keeping the convention relating to *Margaret*'s liberty, for ſome time ſecret, that princeſs was informed of the change in her fortune, before *Edward* had croſſed the ſea. She owed the obligation of this news to the count *de Dunois*, from whom *Louis* did not conceal it, and who haſtened to give this information to the king her father, and to herſelf. *Mont-Robert* had found means to get into the tower, and was at laſt ſet out on his return to the king of *Sicily*, with commiſſions from the queen, which did not ſo much conſiſt of political affairs, as in expreſſions of that tenderneſs ſhe owed to her family. However, the opportunities he met with in *London*, of becoming acquainted with ſome of the party of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, having made him diſcover a part of their ſentiments, which they had not taken much pains to conceal from a man whom they knew to be devoted to the queen's intereſt, it ſtruck into his

his mind to offer them his ſervices in *Brittany*, where they were not ignorant that the earl of *Richmond* had been arreſted. This offer being communicated to a number of perſons, who entertained the ſame regard for the precious remains of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, *Mont-Robert* was inadvertently engaged in a negotiation, without immediately perceiving either its importance or its danger. The ſituation of affairs were at that time ſo unfavourable, that it was not ſo proper to perſuade the earl to engage in any enterprize, as to perſuade him to think of making uſe of all poſſible means of eſcaping from a ſlavery, that would infallibly prove fatal to him. His priſon was not very uneaſy ſince it was as extenſive as the city of *Vannes*, where he had the liberty of walking and viſiting the inhabitants. But was it not ſtrange that he ſhould ſeem to accuſtom himſelf to chains that might be ſo eaſily broken? What could be the duke of *Brittany*'s views in retaining him? It was doubtleſs to make uſe of him ſooner or later to obtain ſome advantage from the court of *England*, and might nor ſuch circumſtances ariſe as might make his head either the motive or the price of a treaty? *Mont-Robert* the more willingly lent an ear to the propoſal that was made him of going to *Vannes*, and repreſenting theſe conſiderations to the earls of *Richmond*

and *Pembrooke*, from his thinking that he ſhould by this means ſerve the queen, by intereſting himſelf in the ſervice of a houſe for which he ſuppoſed ſhe had the ſame zeal as formerly. He had left *London* before *Edward*'s expedition, and having made uſe of the firſt veſſel that ſet ſail for *Brittany*, he went with a gentleman, named *Naſh*, whom *Edward* ſent at the ſame time, as ambaſſador to that court.

The firſt day of their voyage paſſed without diſtruſt; but *Naſh* could not hear *Mont-Robert* mention moſt of the perſons he had particularly ſeen in *London*, without ſuſpecting that he had ſome commiſſion that had a relation to the two earls. However, he diſguiſed his ſuſpicions till his arrival; when having ſet ſome ſpies to watch his ſteps, he ſoon learnt that at his landing at *St. Maloes*, he took the road to *Vannes*. The firſt uſe he made of his employ, was to demand of the duke the permiſſion to ſurprize him in the intercourſe he was going to maintain with the earl of *Richmond*. This he obtained. The duke of *Brittany* was then on ſuch good terms with *England*, that in ſpite of the perpetual peace that had been juſt ſigned with *Louis* XI. he entered privately into the league with *Edward* and the duke of *Burgundy*.

This

This treachery having had no other conſequence, from *Edward*'s precipitate change, would not have been known to hiſtorians, if it had not been for the publication of *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, where the terms of the treaty are found. The duke being therefore diſpoſed not to reject the inſtances of an *Engliſh* miniſter, gave *Naſh* all the power neceſſary to promote the intereſt of the king, his maſter.

Scarce had *Mont-Robert* been two days at *Vannes*, when he was arreſted in the midſt of a converſation he had procured with the two earls, by the guards who watched his actions, and who ſurprized him in the moment when he was giving the earl of *Pembroke* ſeveral letters he had brought for him. Theſe contained all that *Mont-Robert* had been deſired to repeat to him; but by a very happy precaution, there appeared no name that could be made uſe of to give uneaſineſs to any one, and thus the ſecret of this negotiation ſeemed to depend on his fidelity, to whom it was intruſted. This, however, was another diſcovery that ſeemed to render his commiſſion of ſtill greater importance. *Naſh* got all theſe papers into his poſſeſſion, and not being able to perſuade himſelf but that they muſt contain ſome pernicious project under diſ-

guiſed terms, he made a propoſal to the duke, to extort the ſecret from *Mont-Robert*, by putting him to the torture: But he did not find him ſo ready to comply with this propoſal. However, he brought him to order the two earls to be more ſtrictly guarded, and to conſent to deliver *Mont-Robert*, that he might be ſent to *London* with all the letters he had ſeized, and to leave this affair to the judgment of the king.

The veſſel on which he was put, arrived in *England* a few days before *Edward*'s return. He had made his ſon, the prince of *Wales*, who was then but five years of age, guardian of the kingdom; but as this was under the regency of the council, *Mont-Robert* was nevertheleſs examined on *Naſh*'s accuſation, and on the letters which were alledged as his crime. That wrote by the queen being the only one that was ſigned, would have contributed more than all the others to his deſtruction, if it had contained the leaſt proof of the plot they had a ſuſpicion of; but tho' it was only filled with natural expreſſions of grief and tenderneſs, they were led by *Naſh*'s inſinuations, to conſider the moſt ſimple terms as a cypher which covered ſome myſtery, and even the ſuperſcription to the king of *Sicily*, as a diſguiſe, that they might without hazard be conveyed to the earls

of

of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*. Silly as this imagination was in itſelf, it muſt be confeſſed, that *Mont-Robert*'s going to *Vannes*, the other letters with which he was intruſted, and his conference with the two earls, might give it ſome degree of probability.

This had ſuch weight with the council, that not confining themſelves to the taking informations on the places and perſons viſited by *Mont-Robert*, during his abode in *London*, they puſhed their zeal ſo far as to cauſe the queen to be ſhut up more cloſely than before. It muſt be remembered, that after the battle of *Tewkeſbury*, *Edward* deſigned to deliver up this princeſs to the juſtice of parliament, and that he was only deterred from it by the conſideration of her ſex. *Haſtings*, one of the lords of the regency, imagined, that he ſhould pay his court to the king, by improving the time of his abſence, to gratify, without expoſing him, his moſt inveterate hatred. He made all the council enter into the ſame ſentiments. *Margaret*, after having been reſpected by her conqueror and her enemy, found herſelf expoſed to the humiliation of being treated like a criminal, by a company of flatterers, who had already forgot that they had been her ſubjects. The king's return would not have been ſpeedy enough

enough to ſecure her from the firſt proceedings, if ſhe had not been aſſiſted in a way that appeared very extraordinary.

Of all the king's miſtreſſes, *Jane Shore* held the firſt rank. She was wife to one of the *London* citizens, had been taken away from her huſband, and was not only an extraordinary beauty, but was bleſſed with the moſt admirable ſweetneſs of temper. *Edward* loved her as much for the excellency of her natural diſpoſition as for her beauty. She was never heard to ſpeak ill of any one, nor ever made uſe of the favour ſhe poſſeſſed to prejudice her lover againſt any perſon. Whenever ſhe importuned him it was to ſuccour the unhappy; and the ſervices ſhe was pleaſed to perform were always diſintereſted. Thus ſhe had amaſſed leſs wealth than a great number of others, for whom *Edward* had leſs affection and eſteem. This woman was beloved by the lord *Haſtings*, tho' the reſpect he owed to his maſter, prevented his diſcovering his ſentiments; he had ſhewn on a thouſand occaſions, the power ſhe had over him, and perhaps ſhe might be already ſenſible of the pains he privately took to ſerve her. When the reſolution of the council was publiſhed, ſhe was ſhocked at the obſtinacy with which they perſecuted an unfortunate queen, who

was

was more proper to raiſe their pity than their fear, ſhe therefore made the lord *Haſtings* aſhamed of this cruelty. The deſire of pleaſing her immediately diſpoſed him to alter his conduct, and being apprehenſive leſt the ſteps he had already taken might have carried him too far, he made haſte to declare to the council, that ſome new diſcoveries he had made of the queen's innocence, obliged him to abandon the deſign he had formed of proſecuting her. But though his poſt of high chamberlain, and the ſervices he had rendered the king, entitled him to much reſpect, the council was compoſed of many other lords, not leſs diſtinguiſhed by the elevation of their rank, or the king's favour, and who having ſubmitted to his advice, when he propoſed to proceed on *Naſh*'s accuſation, did not find themſelves diſpoſed to ſtop on ſo vague a retraction. *Henry Stafford*, duke of *Buckingham*, and high-conſtable of the kingdom, preſſed him to declare to the council what he had diſcovered, that was ſo favourable to the queen; and from the embarraſſment into which this propoſal ſeemed to throw *Haſtings*, the duke concluded, that reaſons only known to him, ought not to hinder the council's terminating what had been undertaken for the ſafety of the government.

Mrs.

Mrs. *Shore* more afflicted than *Haſtings* at this reſiſtance, took the reſolution to diſpatch a courier to the king with a letter worthy of the goodneſs of her heart. She had not the merit of contributing to the reſolutions this prince had taken in the queen's favour, ſince the treaty of *Peguigny* was already concluded, and the courier found the *Engliſh* army ready to embark at *Calais*. But by the oppoſition made by the lord *Haſtings* having for ſeveral days ſuſpended the proceedings of the council, it was to Mrs. *Shore*'s generoſity that *Margaret* owed the obligation of being preſerved from a new diſgrace, that would have put the finiſhing ſtroke to her humiliation. However, the king was no ſooner in *London* than he took cognizance of this affair. The queen's letter appeared to him to be what it really was, a thing that was of no conſequence to *England*, and that had occaſioned only ridiculous ſuſpicions; but he formed a different opinion of thoſe *Mont-Robert* had been intruſted with to carry to the two earls, and eaſily perſuaded himſelf, that *Margaret*'s agent did not go to *Brittany*, without her knowledge or without her orders. *Mont-Robert*, who was called before him, in vain proteſted that this princeſs had been ignorant of his commiſſion. The firmneſs with which he refuſed

refuſed to betray thoſe who had intruſted him with their letters, left a diſtruſt in *Edward*'s mind, that for a long time prevented his informing the queen of the happy news of her liberty; ſo that with the aſſurances ſhe had received from the count *de Dunois*, and even thoſe hopes that were renewed and confirmed by the king, her father, ſhe had the mortification ſtill to languiſh above three months in a painful uncertainty. *Mont-Robert*, after ſix weeks impriſonment, was ſent back into *France*, without being able to procure the means of ſeeing her again, in order to explain at leaſt what it was that retarded her deliverance.

The Queen releaſed

At laſt this long expected favour was fixed by the king, to be on the 20th of *November*; and tho' this prince diſpenſed with ſeeing *Margaret* at her departure, he anticipated the deſire of all her friends, by granting her ſome days to take her leave of them. She had the permiſſion to go to *Greenwich*, where ſhe was treated with much magnificence at the expence of the nation. Tho' there was perhaps ſome hidden poiſon under theſe appearances of politeneſs, no conſideration was capable of withholding an infinite number of perſons, who preſſed to pay her the laſt marks of their reſpect. The duke and dutcheſs of

Clarence

Clarence ſeemed to give the example from the firſt day, and as it could not be imagined that they took this ſtep without the king's conſent, they were imitated by even thoſe, who were led thither by their curioſity. Thus the obſervations *Edward* might propoſe to make were confounded in the multitude. People were aſtoniſhed at not ſeeing there the dutcheſs of *Glouceſter*; but retained by ſhame, ſhe ſent to make her excuſes to the queen, with very lively expreſſions of the regret ſhe felt at her being deprived of the power of following her. *Louis* had ſent a veſſel from *Dieppe*, which ſailed up the river as far as *Greenwich*; and ſome officers intruſted with his and king *René*'s orders went to *London*, to obtain thoſe of *Edward*; but received only his commands to exhort the queen to enjoy with tranquility the liberty he granted her.

A five years impriſonment that cloſed the train of ſuch a number of misfortunes, and which ſhe had almoſt entirely paſſed in a perfect ſolitude, had given ſuch a turn to her temper, that there was little occaſion for this exhortation to inſpire her with a reliſh for reſt and retirement. She had already regulated the employment that was to fill up the reſt of her days. She reſolved, after ſhe had been to *Paris*, to thank *Louis* XI. for intereſting himſelf

himſelf in her affairs, to go to *Aix*, where that prince had permitted king *René*, to wear out the reſt of his life, he being then much advanced in years. Her deſign was to ſtay with this tender parent as long as it was neceſſary to cloſe his eyes, and after his deceaſe to bury herſelf in ſome diſtant convent, the choice of which ſhe reſerved to herſelf, on the informations ſhe ſhould obtain in that province. She had a happy voyage to *Dieppe*, but when ſhe was diſpoſed to ſet out from thence to *Paris*, ſhe received a meſſenger from the king, who having in the name of that prince, congratulated her on the change of her ſituation, informed her that he diſpenſed with her journey to court, and that to ſpare her ſo unprofitable a fatigue, he would receive her thanks at the place where he ſhould rejoice to hear of her being arrived. *Louis*, nevertheleſs, reſolved not to let the queen paſs by without ſeeing her; but he was then employed about an affair which he had much at heart; the execution of which he had been made to fear ſhe would put a ſtop to, by entreaties which it would be difficult for him to reſiſt.

He had lately granted the duke of *Burgundy* a new truce, but it was on condition that he ſhould deliver up the conſtable of *St. Pol*,

St. Pol, who had taken refuge in his dominions, on the promiſe of a ſafe-conduct; and the duke, who longed to ſet himſelf free, in order to wreek his revenge on the dukes of *Lorrain* and *Auſtria*, had ſacrificed his honour to his reſentment. *Louis*, who was not leſs irritated againſt the conſtable, no ſooner had him in his power than he named commiſſioners before whom he was to take his trial; and his being frequently guilty of treaſon being the leaſt of his crimes, he hoped that he ſhould ſoon make him mount the ſcaffold. This lord had entertained the ſame idea of his fate ever ſince his confinement in the king's priſons. However, having learnt that the queen was hourly expected, and foreſeeing that ſhe would come to thank the king for her liberty, he flattered himſelf that their interview would be a favourable moment, and that whatever ſhe begged of her deliverer would be difficult for him to refuſe. His relations and friends, who became of the ſame opinion, immediately ſet out to meet her, and were prepared to give all poſſible weight to their ſollicitations. But the king was informed of this ſtep, and the part he took to ſend to the queen was only deſigned to deliver himſelf from an obſtacle, to which he was reſolved not to yield. His meſſenger had even orders to make ſuch diſpatch, as to meet

meet her before the earl's friends, and to let the queen know what ſollicitations ſhe had to expect, and to deſire her not to liſten to them.

This incident gave her little diſturbance; but yet it expoſed her in the proſecution of her journey, to the danger of loſing her life in a miſerable manner. Having taken the road through *Normandy*, ſhe found herſelf under the neceſſity of ſtopping in the evening at a village, and ſpending the night there, with a very ſmall retinue. This province was ſtill filled with the *Engliſh*, who had ſettled there under the reigns of *Henry* V. and *Henry* VI; men whoſe affection to their country were not altered by ſo long an abſence, and who had followed all the revolutions with the ſame heat, as if they had been intereſted in them by the loſs of their blood or fortunes. The queen proceeded without diſtruſt, and without precaution. She had even refuſed an eſcort which the king had ſent to *Rouen*, to attend her as far as ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to make uſe of it. Her men had neither orders to conceal her name, nor the way ſhe was going, and thinking as little of diſguiſe as of oſtentation, ſhe was wholly taken up with thinking of the end of her journey. While ſhe was at ſupper in the village

village where ſhe had ſtopped, the houſe, which was no other than a common inn, was filled with *Engliſh*, whom curioſity alone had perhaps at firſt drawn thither; but theſe diſputing on the intereſt of their country, their converſation was terminated by groſs invectives, and bitter reproaches againſt the queen and her followers. She had only ten perſons with her, of whom three were women, two of them *Engliſh* gentlemen attached to her from no other motive but their affection, and five domeſtics, the ſad remains of all her grandeur and power. The two gentlemen, inflamed with a zeal for their queen, hoped to impoſe ſilence on this mutinous rabble by aſſuming an air of haughtineſs and authority. But their inſolence increaſing at their being threatened, they were ſoon ſo tranſported with rage, as to arm themſelves with whatever they ſaw capable of being converted into an inſtrument of their fury; and forcing the two gentlemen to retire into the queen's chamber, they ſwore that they would exterminate the remains of a party that had involved *England* in ſuch miſery. Their attack became a kind of ſiege, to which it would have been difficult to have made a long reſiſtance, if ſome *Frenchmen*, drawn thither by the noiſe, had not delivered the queen from ſo great a danger.

As

As ſhe had made but a ſmall progreſs in her journey, ſo dreadful an adventure that might every moment be renewed in the other parts of the province, made her take the reſolution to return to *Rouen*, with a view not only of taking the eſcort ſhe had before refuſed, but of waiting for ſir *Thomas Montgomery*, *Edward*'s ambaſſador at the court of *France*, who not being able to repair ſo ſoon as ſhe to *Dieppe* or *Rouen*, had let her know, that he would overtake her at *Alençon*. There ſtill remained ſome formalities to be performed on the part of *England*, which this miniſter was empowered to accompliſh; and *Louis* XI, had at the ſame time given orders to the ſieur *de Gentis* and *John Raguenils*, receiver-general of *Normandy*, to repair to the ſame place to aſſiſt on his part at this laſt ſcene. They voluntarily conformed to the queen's intentions. *Montgomery*, according to his maſter's orders, received from this princeſs a free confirmation of the act, by which ſhe had already been made to renounce, at her leaving the tower of *London*, all claim to her dower, to her jewels, and to whatever ſhe might claim as queen dowager of *England*. The two *French* miniſters were ordered to take this opportunity to inform her on what conſideration the king had been induced

duced to make uſe of ſuch zeal in procuring her liberty. *René*, by a deed ſigned at *Lyons* in the beginning of the ſame year, had yielded to *France* all his right to *Provence*, *Anjou*, and the dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. The only condition required in return for this fine preſent, was, that *Louis* ſhould pay his daughter's ranſom, and grant that princeſs a penſion agreeable to her rank; and ſhe was obliged immediately to confirm this agreement made by the king, her father.

The ſatisfaction ſhe felt on the enjoyment of her liberty, could not prevent her ſeeing what this favour coſt her. She at the ſame inſtant found that ſhe was not only ſtripped of all that an eſtabliſhed law had given her a claim to in *England*; but of all the advantages ſhe received from her birth, the ſucceſſion to the houſe of *Anjou*, of which ſhe was the only heireſs. It would have been to no purpoſe for her to exclaim againſt ſuch ſevere laws; ſhe indeed complained of them to the king, her father; but was obliged to be ſatisfied with the anſwer ſhe received from this good old man; who had determined to part with all he poſſeſſed, from the ſole motive of obtaining the ſatisfaction of ſeeing her again. She arrived at *Aix*, to which place he was returned; and till the death of this prince,

prince, which happened on the 10th of *July*, 1480, the ſilence of hiſtorians ſeems to prove, that ſhe lived there in an abſolute diſregard to all public affairs.

In the mean time her repoſe was diſturbed by a viſit, which ſhe was far from expecting. The dutcheſs of *Clarence*, who fled from *England* after the death of her huſband, came to her to ſeek for ſhelter and conſolation. Her misfortune was ſo recent, that being ſtill bathed in tears, and filled with the bitterneſs of affliction, ſhe could not avoid communicating to the queen a part of her grief. The lady *Trott*, who was attached to her, after having obtained *Edward*'s favour by her interpoſition, had adviſed her to leave her country for ſome time, and from the confidence they both had in *Margaret*'s friendſhip, they undertook the voyage to *France*. The tragical death of the duke of *Clarence*, could not be ſuppoſed to excite the queen's compaſſion; for ſhe did not owe this ſenſation to her ſon's murderer. But ſhe had not forgot that the dutcheſs always reſpected her as a mother; and the impulſe of affection, that had made her deſpiſe all kinds of danger, to come and take her leave of her at *Greenwich*, was a proof of her attachment that ſhe could never forget.

Thoſe who were acquainted with the characters of *Edward* and the duke, had always been of opinion, that their reconciliation was never ſincere; and that tho' the firſt had been cured of his diſtruſt, and the laſt of his inconſtancy and natural levity, the duke of *Glouceſter* had too great an intereſt in blowing up the fire of diſcord between them, to ſuffer their union long to ſubſiſt. All hiſtorians agree, that he already privately prepared the way to ſecure the crown to himſelf after the king's death. This was a very difficult enterprize, as his two eldeſt brothers had children ſtill living; but he ſaw a poſſibility of bringing it about by degrees. The firſt ſtep being to get rid of the duke of *Clarence*, he endeavoured to plant ill impreſſions of him in the king's mind, by a thouſand accuſations, which after what had paſſed, could not be entirely void of probability. The queen, who had gained a great aſcendancy over the mind of her huſband, ſince ſhe had given two princes to *England*, continually ſtrengthened his ſuſpicions, and the duke of *Clarence*, naturally proud and indiſcreet, and at the ſame time of a very moderate capacity, every moment furniſhed them with arms againſt himſelf, by the imprudence of his conduct, and the freedom of his diſcourſe.

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There was however but little appearance of his fall being ſo near, when an adventure took place that had no manner of relation to ſo ſerious and important an event. The king being hunting in ſir *Thomas Burdett*'s park, a perſon for whom the duke of *Clarence* had a particular friendſhip, he killed a white ſtag, of which this gentleman was extremely fond. This loſs was ſo ſenſibly felt by *Burdett*, that in the firſt heat of his reſentment, he wiſhed with an oath, that the ſtag's horns was in the belly of him that killed it. This ridiculous imprecation, which would in another have paſſed for no more than a puerile extravagance, was turned into the crime of high treaſon in one of the duke of *Clarence*'s friends, and in two days time *Burdett* was condemned to die, and publickly executed. The duke was then in *England*, and thoſe who had ſollicited his friend's puniſhment, for no other reaſon but to give him an opportunity of enraging the king by ſome falſe ſtep, made haſte to inform him of this event. He returned in a rage, and paying no regard to any one at his arrival, reproached the king with the utmoſt haughtineſs, for having failed in reſpect to a brother, to whom he was obliged for his crown. This tranſport was perhaps pardonable on the ſcore of friendſhip; but he

added ſuch inconſiderate menaces, that *Edward*, without heſitation, cauſed him to be arreſted. His enemies, the moſt dangerous of whom was the duke of *Glouceſter*, took care to keep from the council all thoſe who might prove favourable to him; and they themſelves drew up many articles of accuſation, the principal of which regarded the king's perſon. In ſhort, by a juſt decree of providence, which deſtined all theſe blood-thirſty princes to periſh by their mutual rage and hatred, he was condemned to die; and all the ſoftening the king gave to his ſentence, was to leave to him the manner in which it ſhould be accompliſhed.

The dutcheſs was then in *Ireland*, with two young children, the fruit of their marriage. Her friends had time to inform her of her huſband's danger before his condemnation, on which with the utmoſt diligence ſhe haſted to ſollicit his pardon. But though ſhe was dreadfully afflicted, at learning on her arrival at *London*, that his ſentence was paſſed, ſhe was ſtill more ſo at finding what kind of death he had choſe; for to appearance, inſenſible of the horrors of his fate, he had demanded leave of the king to be drowned in a butt of malmſey. The dutcheſs having obtained the liberty of ſeeing him,

him, ſpared no endeavours to make him lay aſide ſo miſerable a reſolution; and in the neceſſity he was under of ſurrendering up his life, ſhe exhorted him to ſeek no other way than that of his equals; but making a ſport of his puniſhment, he preſſed her earneſtly to aſſiſt at it. Her weakneſs, occaſioned by her ſhame and grief, prevented her being expoſed to this fatal office. She even refuſed to hear the circumſtances of ſuch an odious ſcene, and lamenting the blindneſs, as much as the death of a huſband ſhe had always tenderly loved, ſhe ſcarce waited for the recovery of her health, before ſhe left *England* with her children.

This relation filled the queen both with a warm compaſſion for the dutcheſs, and a reſpectful admiration of the juſtice of heaven, which ſhe thought took care to revenge her cauſe. But how would this admiration have been increaſed, if ſhe could have penetrated into futurity, and have ſeen all her enemies, and the murderers of thoſe who were deareſt to her, ſucceſſively falling by each other's hand! But on the contrary, caſting at a diſtance whatever was capable of reviving her hatred, and from henceforward ſeeking for inward peace by forgetting even her reſentments, ſhe endeavoured by her diſcourſes and

by her example, to inſpire the dutcheſs of *Clarence* with the ſame diſpoſitions. She kept her with her for ſix months, and finding that ſhe had tranquility enough to be put in mind of the intereſt of her children, which ſeemed to demand her return to *England*, ſhe adviſed her for their ſakes to lay aſide all remains of grief, and to go and ſollicit in their behalf, the favours of the king, their uncle.

René's death at laſt broke the only tie which bound *Margaret* to a commerce with mankind. Having paid him her laſt duties, ſhe thought of nothing but the execution of the deſign which ſhe had long ſince formed of retiring from the world, where ſhe no longer found any thing capable of ſtopping her. However, ſhe thought ſhe might give the preference, in the choice of her tomb, to the province of *Anjou*, which ſhe particularly regarded as the inheritance of her family, and where ſhe was ſorry that ſhe had not found her father at leaving her priſon. Beſides her own inclination, ſhe had a much ſtronger reaſon to determine her to this choice, from the aſſiſtance ſhe hoped to receive for the reſt of her life, from a man whom *René* had recommended when expiring, for his integrity and fidelity. This was an old gentleman

tleman of *Anjou*, named *Vignoles*, who had conſiderable eſtates in that province, and who having paſſed the greateſt part of his life in the ſervice of the king of *Sicily*, wiſhed for nothing after the death of his good maſter, but to retire to his eſtate, in order to ſpend the reſt of his days in peace. He approved the deſire *Margaret* expreſſed, of going thither; but when ſhe had communicated to him her ſcheme of retiring into ſolitude, he repreſented with much wiſdom, that a reſolution of this nature was neither conformable to her rank, nor to the extraordinary part ſhe had ſo long and ſo glorioufly acted. His reaſons were ſimple; 'You will either chuſe, 'ſaid he, to ſubject yourſelf entirely to the 'laws of a cloyſter, or you will there con-'fine yourſelf to a retreat that will make no 'change in that courſe of life, which pru-'dence exacts from a queen. In the firſt 'caſe, you do not ſufficiently conſider what 'torments you prepare for yourſelf; and in 'the ſecond, you do not ſee that you only 'ſeek to put yourſelf under conſtraint, and 'to become troubleſome to others.'

Whatever impreſſion this reaſoning might make on her mind, ſhe was not deſtined by providence to find herſelf at liberty to follow her inclinations. Scarce was ſhe arrived at

Anjou, when *Louis* XI. ſent to propoſe a new confirmation of *René*'s agreement, by a more authentic deed than that which *Geulis* and *Raguenet* received from her at *Rouen*. This propoſal, which ſeemed to imply ſome doubt of the validity of the firſt act, and even of the grant made by king *René*, her father, gave her, by the inſtigation of *Vignoles*, the thought of enquiring whether juſtice would not effectually authorize her recovering again a donation, on which ſhe had not been conſulted, and which ſhe had ſigned when compelled by the miſerable ſtate of her fortune. It is not to be imagined, that ſhe could flatter herſelf with the hopes of forcing the king to reſtore the provinces ſhe had given up; but the penſion he was bound to give her in exchange, not being ſo exactly paid as the price of her ranſom had been to the king of *England*, *Vignoles* made her hope, that a little reſiſtance would ſerve at leaſt to render *Louis* more faithful, and perhaps to make him augment an annuity, that had no proportion to the value of the purchaſe. This advice did not turn to her ſatisfaction. The commiſſaries ſent by the king having ſignified to that prince, that they found ſome difficulty in the execution of his orders, received an anſwer from him, that was ſo much the more mortifying to her, as from the hope

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of deriving ſome advantage from her oppoſition, ſhe had already entered into engagements, that required a greater exactneſs in the payment of her penſion. The king ordered her to be told, that ſhe too ſoon forgot the ſituation from which he had delivered her, and that if ſhe regretted the loſs of what her father poſſeſſed, he was ready to reſtore it to her, but it muſt be on condition that ſhe would go and enjoy it in the Tower of *London*. Thus it became neceſſary for her to change her language, and ſign a new act, which was performed on the 19th of *October*, 1480, at the caſtle of *Reculec*, near *Angers*.

The engagements ſhe had entered into, and which in their conſequences threw her into troubles and embarraſſments quite oppoſite to her reſolution, were ſuch as had a relation to the earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, whom the duke of *Brittany* ſtill kept under a guard at *Vannes*. They were not ignorant of her being ſo near them, and immediately hoping that they might derive ſome advantage from it, they did not fail to deſire her friendſhip, and ſome proof of the regard ſhe ſtill preſerved for the houſe of *Lancaſter*. Beſide the low ſtate of her fortune, which led her to promiſe them an annual aſſiſtance in form of a penſion, ſhe cauſed them to be

informed of the danger to which they were continually expoſed on *Edward*'s account. They had had the happineſs to eſcape from one, all the circumſtances of which are to be found in *Argentreé*, and which began to render the duke of *Brittany*'s ſimplicity, as much to be apprehended, as the hatred and artifices of *Edward*. The truce which had been often violated between *England* and *Brittany*, making it neceſſary that it ſhould be renewed with more firm conditions, the king had taken this opportunity to ſend ambaſſadors extraordinary to the duke, and theſe had found no difficulty in eſtabliſhing the two nations in a good underſtanding. But the diſcuſſions relating to their mutual intereſt being determined, the ambaſſadors diſcovered to the duke the principal ſubject of their negotiation: they repreſented, that the king, their maſter, ardently deſired for ever to extinguiſh the fire of faction, which had cauſed ſuch long diſturbances in *England*; and that the houſe of *Lancaſter* having no other prince but the earl of *Richmond*, he deſigned to marry him to one of his daughters, that both houſes might be united by this marriage; that with this view he deſired him to ſend him the earl, to whom he waited to give every proof of his affection, that might ſerve to convince all his people of his deſire to

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render them happy by a lasting peace. The duke of *Brittany*, led by his natural candour to form a favourable judgment of others, did not suspect that *Edward* concealed an odious design under these appearances of moderation, and therefore put the earl of *Richmond* into the hands of the ambassadors, who made haste to set out with their prey, in order to embark at *St. Maloes*.

This young prince had so long neglected to escape from his confinement, by his being bound by stronger chains than those of the duke. He was in love with a girl of his own nation, whose family was settled at *Vannes*, and this passion for a long time rendered him deaf to all the entreaties of the earl of *Pembroke*, who had a thousand times pressed him to improve the opportunities that were continually presented for their flight. This girl, who was of the common rank, and whose name was *Lee*, on seeing her lover carried away, penetrated into *Edward*'s artifice, and prevailed on her father to repair with the utmost haste to court, where he represented to the duke, that the step he had just taken would cover him with eternal infamy; without reckoning that his conscience could not be reconciled to his delivering up a prince, who believed himself safe under his

protection, to his moſt mortal enemy. This diſcourſe opened the duke's eyes, and he immediately ſent *Peter Landais* to *St. Maloes*, with orders to employ even force, to deliver the earl of *Richmond* out of the ambaſſadors hands, if he was capable of making ſuch ſpeed as to prevent their embarkation. Thoſe who have accuſed the duke of being gained over by a large ſum he received from *Edward*, and of changing his ſentiments only through remorſe, have not conſidered, that if the ambaſſadors had made uſe of this method to ſeduce the maſter, they would have ſucceeded much more eaſily with ſo corrupt a miniſter as *Peter Landais*, who was at that time his favourite. However, being arrived at *St. Maloes*, at the very moment when the ambaſſadors were going to embark, he informed them in the duke's name, that he had an important affair to communicate to them, and while he was holding a conference with them, the men in his retinue, to whom he had given his orders to deliver the two priſoners, conducted them to a church. As they had made their eſcape from the ambaſſadors, they had nothing to fear in a town under the duke's ſubjection. The ambaſſadors made bitter complaints of their having been deceived: but after ſome frivolous excuſes, they were frankly informed, that the duke of *Brittany* having

having made ſome further reflections on the ſtep he had been prevailed on to take, had found that he could not deliver up the earl to the king, without forfeiting his honour; and that he could only promiſe to guard him with ſuch care, that *Edward* ſhould have no reaſon to be under the leaſt apprehenſion on account of his enterprizes.

Vannes was ſtill the place of his confinement; but as the danger from which he had ſo happily eſcaped, might be renewed by other ways, the earl of *Pembroke* conjured *Margaret* to join her perſuaſions to his, to engage the prince to ſeek for ſafety by a prudent flight; and even deſired her to favour this deſign by the ſuccours ſhe might eaſily procure them, at a place ſituated at ſo ſmall a diſtance from *Brittany*. She did not refuſe to grant them this ſervice; but the principal difficulty was to make the earl of *Richmond* accept of it, or rather to make him conquer a paſſion that ſeemed to render him equally inſenſible to the decorums of his rank, and to the care of his life. After many uſeleſs efforts, againſt which the prince defended himſelf by arguments drawn from the greatneſs of his ſoul, and his opinion of the duke of *Brittany*'s generoſity, the queen herſelf made a propoſal to the earl of *Pembroke*, to ſend

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Katherine Lee privately to the place to which he would conduct his nephew, and then to make the hope of finding her a motive for this prince's departure: But it was not eaſy to make her enter into a project, which ſhe apprehended might caſt ſome ſpot on her honour. In ſpite of the tenderneſs, which ſhe freely indulged for her lover, ſhe had not yet granted him any advantage over her; and whether the example of *Elizabeth Grey* raiſed her preſumptuous hopes, or whether ſhe was willing to ſtrengthen the young earl's paſſion, in order to ſecure its duration, ſhe preſerved a modeſty, which ſerved daily to encreaſe it. However, ſhe ſubmitted to the authority of her father, who was diſpoſed to ſacrifice every thing for a prince, whom he regarded as his king; and being ſet out under his conduct, they went to wait on the queen, to whom the earl of *Pembroke* had ſent them, with orders to make his excuſes to that princeſs, and to let her know that he and his nephew would be with them in three days.

Margaret was at the caſtle of *Dampierre*, which belonged to *Vigneles*. Though ſhe might juſtly be ſurpriſed at the earl's chuſing to put *Lee* and his daughter under her care, ſhe did not receive this young perſon with the leſs

leſs goodneſs and admiration. The firſt of theſe ſentiments ſhe thought ſhe owed her on the earl of *Richmond*'s account; but her reſpect for the earl took nothing from the other, whom *Margaret* found worthy of that paſſion, with which ſhe had inſpired the firſt prince of *England*; and the proofs ſhe gave of her diſcretion making her appear worthy of her eſteem, ſhe not only conſented to keep her with her, but to intereſt herſelf in her conduct and fortune, which ſerved in the end, to render her one of the moſt happy women of her time. Two days and two nights paſſed without any account of the earl of *Pembroke*, on which the queen growing uneaſy, ſent *Vignoles* privately to *Vannes*, who on his return brought very diſagreable news. The two earls having wanted precaution in their preparations for their flight, had been arreſted by the guards who were ſet over them; and the duke of *Brittany*, enraged at their attempt, had ſent them to the iſle of *Uſhant*, where he kept them more cloſely confined than ever he had done during their abode at *Vannes*. Their deſtruction, to which it ſeemed as if the duke himſelf was willing to contribute, by putting them in a place from which the firſt *Engliſh* veſſel might take them from a priſon that was but ill defended, alarmed the queen in ſo ſtrange a manner,

manner, that ſhe reproached herſelf for having intereſted herſelf in affairs only fit to diſturb her repoſe. What relation had ſhe from thenceforward to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and the ſucceſſion of *England*? Was it from the hope of ſeeing herſelf reſtored to the rights ſhe had abandoned? Was ambition or revenge capable of making her wiſh for a revolution in favour of the young earl? She had buried all her hatred in the Tower, where ſhe had ſpent five years in recovering her tranquility of ſoul, and her abode ſince that time in *Provence* had completed the conqueſt of her paſſions: Why then did ſhe expoſe her mind to agitations in favour of another, which ſhe would not have been willing to have felt for herſelf?

However, her generoſity, more ſtrong than all theſe reflections, did not ſuffer her to abandon a young prince, for whom ſhe ſaw no other reſource but what ſhe could afford him. *Vignoles* was a man of experience, who from his youth had attended the king of *Sicily* in all his wars, and ſhe charged him to make uſe of all the expedients he could derive from his prudence and courage, in order to deliver the two earls. *Lee* offered to accompany him. They ſet out with few men, from the fear of being betrayed by giving the leaſt appearance

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of diſtruſt, and being furniſhed with a conſiderable ſum of money, capable of providing them in caſe of need with a veſſel and ſoldiers, they repaired to *Rochelle*, from whence it was eaſy to gain the iſle of *Uſhant*.

The caſtle in which the two earls were confined, was the only place in the iſland capable of defence. *Vignoles*, who laid a greater ſtreſs on his addreſs than on open force, took with him only ten men, and informing himſelf in an unaffected manner of what could not be unknown to the inhabitants of the iſland, he learnt that the garriſon conſiſted of ſixty men, and that the two earls, who were ſometimes allowed the liberty of hunting, never went out without being attended by them. Notwithſtanding this intelligence, he hoped to take them away the firſt time they went out of the caſtle. Being diſguiſed like a peaſant, he ordered his men to go on board, and to keep themſelves in readineſs to put off from the ſhore at the firſt ſignal. He then purchaſed the aſſiſtance of ſome peaſants who dwelt on the coaſt; and making them get three horſes ready behind a hedge, which ſerved to conceal them, he waited for the moment in which he ſhould ſee the gates of the caſtle opened. The two

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earls appeared. He had no difficulty in making them perceive, that he ſought to ſerve them. Two words of explication made them underſtand what they had to do to ſecond him. They were on horſeback before they were perceived by their guards, and immediately reaching the ſea ſhore with their guide, embarked without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

But by a very ſtrange accident, at the time when the ſailors were getting under ſail, and the two earls, who reached the veſſel in the long boat, were receiving congratulations from *Lee* and *Vignoles*, a flat bottom'd veſſel put off from a neighbouring port, and brought to the iſland ſixty ſoldiers, who came to relieve the garriſon at the caſtle. It was impoſſible for the ſailors to put the ſhip under ſail time enough to get the ſtart of the oars. Curioſity alone at firſt led the officers of this company to approach the veſſel; but being got on board, the embarraſſment of thoſe who forced the two earls to be concealed, and ſoon after the ſight of the ſoldiers on the iſland, who appeared in a crowd on the bank, made them judge that they ought to take ſome precautions. A ſlight reſiſtance would have at firſt diſperſed them, if the two lords had not been without arms, and if *Vignoles* had

had not been of opinion that prudence required their concealing themſelves. It was too late to think of making a defence, when the veſſel was filled with ſoldiers, who learnt from thoſe on the ſhore, that they had there the earl of *Richmond*, who had made his eſcape.

The two earls were therefore conducted to the duke of *Brittany* with *Vignoles* and all his men. The duke's indignation was ſo great at the firſt news he received of their preſumption, that he would have ſent them immediately to execution, if they had not made themſelves known to be queen *Margaret*'s domeſtics. *Lee* was the only perſon who was his ſubject; he ordered his proceſs to be carried on with the utmoſt rigour, and having ordered the two earls to be brought before him, he threatened to ſend them to a ſafer priſon in *England*. But the young earl reproached him in a firm tone, for his abuſing his power, in laying a yoke upon him, to which no law obliged him to ſubmit; and making him aſhamed of the ſubmiſſion he had ſhewn to *Edward*, brought him by degrees to ſuch moderation, that after having intrenched himſelf in the promiſe he had made to the king of *England*, he promiſed to ſend him again to *Vannes*, if he would give his word that

that he would live in the ſame peaceable manner he had hitherto done. The earl, who expected to be ſhut up in a cloſer priſon than that from which he had eſcaped, took care not to reject this propoſal; but continuing the tone which had ſo happily ſucceeded, he replied, that to render the conditions equal, he ought himſelf to engage, that he would never abuſe the power he had over him, by delivering him up to *Edward*. There was in this demand an air of juſtice, with which the duke was ſtruck; he bound himſelf by an oath, never to be guilty of ſuch a baſe piece of treachery, and to render the earl completely ſatisfied, granted *Lee* his pardon.

It is evident, that the two earls were under much leſs conſtraint in their confinement at *Vannes*, ſince their misfortune in being arreſted when they were endeavouring to make their eſcape, only proceeded from the extreme imprudence of ſome of their men, and that with a little more management, they in the end found the means of making ſeveral journeys to *Anjou*. Beſides the precautions they always took to conceal their abſence, they took care that none ſhould reproach them for violating their promiſe, which was to continue faithfully under the guard and protection of the duke of *Brittany*. Far from thinking

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of making their eſcape, the one always ſtaid at *Vannes* during the abſence of the other; as well to be a ſecurity for his return, as the better to diſguiſe the liberty they ſucceſſively took. Thus it may be imagined, that they were only cloſely guarded when they went abroad, and that with a little addreſs, it was the more eaſy for them to eſcape alternatively, as the leaſt pretence of indiſpoſition might raiſe a belief, that the one kept his apartment, when they ſaw the other make his appearance. All hiſtorians agree in this account of their confinement.

The uſe they made of this eaſy method of viſiting the queen, ſoon rendered this princeſs's retreat, in a manner the centre of all the deſigns formed in favour of the houſe of *Lancaſter*. The earl of *Richmond*, ſenſible of the earl of *Oxford*'s misfortune, who was cloſely confined in the caſtle of *Hames*, and foreſeeing the advantage he might ſooner or later reap from his ſervices, from thence ſent *Lee* and *Vignoles*, to try to open the gates of his priſon. He was there in irons, and in a ſtate that juſtified the hatred he all his life bore to *Edward*, and all of his blood. *Vignoles*, to ſatisfy not only the heir of the family of *Lancaſter*, but even the queen, who was not under leſs obligation than he to the earl

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of *Oxford*, ſpent many months about the neighbourhood of *Hames*, earneſtly employed in getting acquainted with the governor of the caſtle, and all his men. From this familiarity he eaſily obtained the permiſſion of ſeeing the earl; but not being able to find a favourable moment to inform him of the ſervice he ſought to render him, he formed a project from other circumſtances, the ſucceſs of which appeared infallible. Having obſerved that on all feaſt-days the earl and ſome other priſoners were led to a chamber adjoining to the caſtle to hear maſs, he did not doubt but that there would be ſome amongſt them who underſtood latin; and gaining over the prieſt by a large ſum, inſtead of the epiſtle or the goſpel, made him recite in Latin, an advice to the priſoners to hold themſelves in readineſs to ſecond the endeavours that on a certain day would be taken for their deliverance. They were never led to maſs without being hand-cuffed; but as if this precaution had been ſufficient with regard to five or ſix perſons, whoſe ſubmiſſion ſeemed to have grown into a habit, they left them at liberty to perform their devotions. They did not fail mutually to aſſiſt each other with all their addreſs to get rid of their chains. *Vignoles* and *Lee*, who had made all theſe obſervations, carried ſhort ſwords and fire-arms, which

which they concealed under their cloaks. They went ſucceſſively out of the chapel to diſtribute them amongſt the priſoners; and the frequency of their being ſeen at the caſtle removing all ſuſpicion; they had all the liberty they had hoped for of getting to their chamber-door. In ſhort, by an addreſs, the ſucceſs of which is ſcarcely probable, unleſs we ſuppoſe at leaſt that the caſtle of *Hames* was very ill guarded, they ſeized the governor and the guards, without making any other uſe of their arms but to inſpire terror, and they all partook of the favour that was ſolely deſigned for the earl of *Oxford*. They were nevertheleſs purſued with great diligence, on which the earl in flying ſeparated from *Vignoles*, and did not rejoin him before they reached *Anjou*.

The arrival of theſe new gueſts, renewed the queen's grief, by the objects which their preſence and converſation made her call to mind; but ſhutting up her melancholy reflections within her own breaſt, ſhe rendered them all the good offices that depended on her credit and aſſiduity. The king of *England* made his complaints to *Louis* XI. who anſwered coolly to his ambaſſador, that he could not deprive the queen of the pleaſure of receiving and ob-

obliging her old friends. However, ſhe was not afraid of diſpleaſing the earl of *Richmond* by traverſing his amours. The affection ſhe had conceived for *Catherine Lee* making her wiſh, that this girl's fortune was as great as her wit and beauty made her deſerve, ſhe repreſented in ſo lively a manner the injury ſhe would do herſelf, by nouriſhing the paſſion of a young prince, who could not give her any proof of it, that would do honour to her virtue, that ſhe made her firmly reſolve not to liſten any more to his addreſſes. The earl's grief did not ſhake this generous reſolution, and when he uttered aloud his complaints, *Margaret* repreſented to him, that as he could only ſeek to amuſe himſelf by ſeducing a girl of merit, he ſhewed little regard to virtue and honour, when he would ſacrifice ſuch precious jewels to his pleaſures. He nevertheleſs did not ſlacken his purſuits, and the journeys he was continually making to *Anjou*, always produced ſome ſingular proof of his affection. The earl of *Pembroke*, who wiſhed to ſee his heart engaged and his mind employed in an agreeable manner, in order to diſſipate the laſſitude ariſing from his ſituation, favoured his inclination by his approbation and ſervices. He gained over *Lee*. The dean of *Tours*, *Vignoles*'s brother, ſuffered himſelf alſo to be brought over to the prince's intereſt.

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Whether the two earls deſigned to deceive *Catherine* by ſome impoſition, or whether they hoped eaſily to break a marriage which they intended to celebrate with few formalities; they agreed with *Lee*, that he himſelf ſhould preſs his daughter to receive the earl's hand, and the dean was diſpoſed to unite them by performing the ceremony. Offers of ſo ſerious a nature, and propoſed by the mouth of a father, made a powerful impreſſion on *Catherine*'s mind. The day was appointed; and though the earl of *Pembroke* could not be with the prince at *Anjou*, his conſent ſupplied the want of his preſence. But *Catherine*, ſtopped by an emotion of gratitude for the queen's goodneſs, or perhaps by the fear of her reſentment, durſt not conclude this ſcene without informing her of it. This was to render ſo many preparations ineffectual. *Margaret* opened her eyes on the deceit, and from the diſpleaſure ſhe on that account entertained againſt *Lee* and the dean of *Tours*, ſhe baniſhed them for ſome time from her preſence. She replied to the ſighs and complaints of the earl, by a propoſal ſo juſt, that in putting him under an incapacity of making an anſwer, ſhe drew new arms from his embarraſſment and ſilence to fortify the wiſdom of *Catherine*. 'Will you,' ſaid ſhe, to this prince, 'reſolve to marry her openly, that

'is to ſay, in the face of *England* and *France*, 'to whom the marriage of one in your ſta- 'tion ſhould be no ſecret? You will then 'immediately ſee an end put to all my oppo- 'ſitions.' The young earl affrighted at this queſtion, and not daring even to diſcover his thoughts in the earl of *Pembroke*'s abſence, continued ſo long without making any reply, that *Catharine* herſelf thought ſhe could now perceive, that he only intended to deceive her.

But more important affairs ſoon interrupted this idle intrigue, and employed them in other purſuits. Before the young earl was ſet out on his return to *Vannes*, an *Engliſhman*, whoſe name and countenance were recollected by the queen, having preſented himſelf before her, and demanded a particular audience, gave her letters from ſeveral lords, who had ſent him to *Anjou* to intereſt this princeſs in an enterprize of great moment. He was afterwards to go into *Brittany* with other letters, which he was to deliver to the earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, which was the principal cauſe of his voyage. The two earls never viſiting the queen without making uſe of great precaution, and under feigned names, he was ignorant of the firſt being ſo near. But they ſoon ceaſed to make a myſtery of it, when *Mar-*

Margaret was informed by his letters of the ſubject of his commiſſion.

The one was from *Morton*, biſhop of *Ely*, one of *Henry* the VIth's council, who had continued in the poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick ever ſince *Edward*'s re-eſtabliſhment; but whoſe heart was not the leſs faithful to the houſe of *Lancaſter*. He had part of his family in *Wales*, near *Brecknock* caſtle, where was the duke of *Buckingham*'s principal eſtate, which gave him frequent opportunities of viſiting that nobleman. *Morton* was celebrated in *England* for his wit and learning; but his birth was low, and he owed his elevation entirely to his own merit. The duke being led by his own inclinations to treat him with thoſe marks of diſtinction to which his talents entitled him, familiarly converſed with him during his reſidence for ſeveral months at *Brecknock*; and their converſations neceſſarily falling on the preſent intereſts of the nation, the artful prelate inſinuated himſelf ſo dexterouſly into his confidence, that he penetrated into the bottom of his ſentiments. The court of *England* had few lords ſo diſtinguiſhed by their birth and natural endowments as the duke; he had rendered *Edward* ſome important ſervices, for which he did not think the dignity of high conſtable of the king-

dom was a ſufficient recompence. *Haſtings* and *Stanley* enjoyed between them the favour which he would have poſſeſſed alone; and to complete his diſguſt, the queen, who made profeſſion of ſupporting the new nobility againſt the old, had prevented his being heir to the houſe of *Hereford*, to which he thought he had an inconteſtible right. In opening his mind to *Morton*, he confeſſed not only his averſion to *Edward*, but alſo the regret he could not help feeling at his having entered into the duke of *Glouceſter*'s plot to take the crown from this prince or his children. What he regretted was not the evil he ſhould bring upon *Edward*; but that having no greater reaſon to love the duke his brother, he was vexed at being under the neceſſity to which he was reduced, of not being able to revenge himſelf on the one, without attaching himſelf to the intereſt of the other. He had promiſed the duke to hold himſelf in readineſs to ſecond him, whether he choſe to pull off the maſk in order to attack the king openly, or whether waiting for his death, he ſhould conſider it as a more eaſy enterprize to dethrone his children. *Edward*'s health gave no proſpect of his enjoying a long life, for he was ſo ſenſible to the ſhame of having been ſported with by *Louis* XI. who had juſt concluded a marriage between the dauphin

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and *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, that he daily waſted away. The princeſs, his daughter, had been ſo openly educated in the hope of marrying this prince, that the *Engliſh* already called her madam the dauphineſs; and when *Edward* remembered that it was this promiſe that induced him to withdraw his army from *France*, without having drawn his ſword, he fell into ſuch tranſports of paſſion, as had more than once put people in fear for his life. Poiſon, given by the duke of *Glouceſter*'s hand, who repeated the doſe from time to time, if we may believe ſome hiſtorians, had alſo its effect. But ſuppoſing that the king's death ſhould ſoon ſatisfy *Buckingham*'s hatred, this would only make him fall under a new tyranny; that was not leſs odious in his eſteem, he therefore reproached himſelf with having engaged to contribute to it.

After being emboldened by this confidence, *Morton* entertained him with a diſcourſe, which many hiſtorians make him ſpeak two years after, when this prelate was guarded by the duke in *Brecknock* caſtle. But beſides the time being fixed by his letter to queen *Margaret*, it is improbable that if he had not already had ſtrict connections with the duke, he could have dared to truſt him when he was a ſtate priſoner under his cuſtody:

without reckoning that the natural order of this fact, is agreeable to the accounts of many other writers, who aſſure us, that the duke, from a friendſhip for *Morton*, and to preſerve him from other dangers, deſired *Richard* III. to let him be his guard. What afterwards paſſed at *Brecknock*, could therefore be nothing but the effect of this firſt explication.

The prelate having allowed the duke ſufficient time to explain himſelf, expreſſed as much concern at his being the inſtrument of the duke of *Glouceſter*'s frenzy, as of the mortification he had received from *Edward*. At laſt to bring him by long windings to the point on which he reſolved to ſound him, he made him confeſs, that not only theſe two princes, but all who ſprang from them, and the duke of *Clarence*, could not promiſe *England* that happineſs, which heaven would never grant to a race of cruel and bloody men. The proofs offered themſelves in a great number of recent examples; and the biſhop obſerved, theſe princes being rejected by God, ought to fill all worthy men with horror, eſpecially when they might give themſelves a maſter, who with the ſame right from nature, had all the qualifications which form the moſt excellent kings. After a copious enumeration of talents and virtues, the prelate ſeeing the duke

duke ſearching with ſome embarraſſment to know to whom this portrait could belong, named him himſelf as a deſcendant of *Edward* III. by a daughter of this prince, married to *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*.

Buckingham appeared greatly ſtruck at a concluſion which he had little expected, and modeſtly denying the juſtice of the elogium *Morton* had made upon him, confeſſed that nature had given him claims, which a man of a more ambitious temper might endeavour to build upon. However, without attending to this idea, he demanded ſome time to reflect on ſo important an overture. *Morton*, who only thought of putting him to the trial, waited with impatience for the reſult of this deliberation. But all his fears returned, when on ſeeing him the next day, he heard him coolly reject a propoſal that ought not to take place to the excluſion of another prince, whoſe rights were not ſo diſtant as his own, and who far from meriting the hatred of the nation, appeared to him to be worthy of reuniting all the ſuffrages. He then mentioned the earl of *Richmond*. The biſhop of *Ely*, who only deſired what he had the joy to hear, greatly applauded his diſintereſtedneſs, and fortified him in ſuch noble ſentiments, by all

the reaſons he could draw from juſtice and honour.

All their notions and deſigns agreeing from henceforward in the earl's favour, they imagined, that in ſpite of the preſent hope of reviving his party in a ſhort time, it was much ſafer to wait till *Edward*'s death, not only from their not having his fortune to combat with, which had hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful that he had not loſt a ſingle battle in which he was preſent in perſon, and his having always ſuddenly raiſed himſelf from the extremeſt abaſement by new miracles; but becauſe the duke of *Glouceſter*'s enterprizes, againſt him or his children, would ſerve as ſteps for the earl to facilitate his own advancement. They fixed all their views on this principle, and their firſt reſolution was to ſend to *Anjou* a ſenſible and faithful agent, who after he had communicated to the queen a project, into which they ſuppoſed ſhe would enter with the utmoſt ardour, he was to receive from her an account of the ſituation of the young prince, and inſtructions as to the conduct he was to obſerve towards him. *Morton*'s letter to this princeſs, that of the duke of *Buckingham*, and ſome other lords who were already aſſociated, were only to diſpoſe her to receive their deputy without diſtruſt,

diſtruſt, and to learn from his mouth what a juſt precaution did not permit them to commit to paper. The perſon choſen for this important commiſſion was a *Welſh* gentlemen, named *Jeffreys*, who had conſiderable eſtates in that country, and had withdrawn himſelf from court from a hatred of the family which filled the throne.

Margaret conferred with him for a long time on the good diſpoſitions of the duke of *Buckingham*, which ſhe could ſcarce have brought herſelf to believe were ſincere, if ſhe had not been aſſured of it by the biſhop of *Ely*'s being engaged in the ſame deſign. The great qualities attributed by hiſtorians to the duke were mixed with ſo many vices, and the queen was ſo perfectly acquainted with his character, that tho' ſhe knew no one was more proper to form a party, and to carry on a great undertaking with equal conduct and courage, ſhe was alſo perſuaded, that the leaſt caprice was capable of making him ſuddenly abandon his object, and of ſacrificing not only the earl's intereſt, but even his own, to the gratification of an irregular appetite. From the objections ſhe made to *Jeffreys*, it ſeemed as if ſhe clearly penetrated into futurity; for it is known that the duke, after having rendered the earl of *Richmond*

ſome ſignal ſervices, deprived himſelf of the fruit he ought to have reaped from them, and was near cauſing the ruin of his party, when having been forced to conceal himſelf in the houſe of one of his antient domeſtics, he employed the few moments he was there in diſhonouring his daughter, which forced the enraged father in his turn to violate the laws of hoſpitality, by delivering him up to *Richard*, who cauſed him to loſe his head. This event was ſtill at ſome diſtance, and relates to a time which does not properly belong to this hiſtory. But the queen, while rejoicing at the earl's having obtained ſo good a defender, wiſhed, from thoſe fears with which prudence is always accompanied, that the duke's zeal might not become as fatal, as it might otherwiſe prove uſeful, to the houſe of *Lancaſter*.

However, after having learnt from *Jeffreys* whatever had a relation to his commiſſion, and ſhewn him, that without the leaſt inclination to receive any advantage from the duke's enterprize, ſhe was not the leſs diſpoſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of her power, ſhe ordered the earl of *Richmond* to be called in, to whom the agent paid the ſame reſpect as if he had been already ſeated on she throne. With the letters from the lords, he preſented him

him one from the counteſs of *Richmond*, his mother; for though ſhe was now married to the lord *Stanley*, who held one of the firſt places in *Edward*'s favour, they had made no difficulty of communicating to her, what they meditated in favour of the young earl; and ſhe entered into it with all the ardour of a mother, who ſees her own grandeur united to that of her ſon's; and all her inquietude ſpringing from the fear, leſt by an exceſs of ambition and courage he ſhould raſhly deliver himſelf to ſuch high hopes, ſhe entreated him to undertake nothing without the queen's participation and advice.

He entered freely into the counteſs's intentions, and reſolving not to be conducted by his own underſtanding, took the reſolution to return immediately to *Vannes*, and to ſend the earl of *Pembroke* to deliberate on his affairs with the queen and the earl of *Oxford*. *Vignoles* and *Jeffreys* were admitted to this important council. It was at firſt debated, whether honour would permit the earl of *Richmond* and his uncle, after the formal engagements they had entered into with the duke of *Brittany*, to break from their confinement, and leave his dominions without his conſent. *Buckingham* exhorted the earl by the mouth of *Jeffreys*, to procure the protection of *France*. What ap-

pearance was there in the ſituation he was in of his being able to let *Louis* know that he merited his friendſhip and eſteem? Was not the firſt ſtep towards forming any enterprize worthy of himſelf, that of procuring his liberty? But natural right appeared to them on this occaſion to be more binding than oaths; without reckoning, that on the ſuppoſition of the juſt rights which called him to the poſſeſſion of the crown, he ought to be conſidered with reſpect to the duke of *Brittainy*, as an independant prince, who could not be juſtly put under an arreſt. Theſe reaſons would perhaps have been ſufficient to have removed all their ſcruples of honour; but the queen made uſe of two others which gave a new turn to their deliberations. In the firſt place a flight like that propoſed, could not fail of alarming the king of *England*, and this was to give him occaſion to make ſuch enquiries as would expoſe them to the danger of having their deſigns fruſtrated in their birth. On the other hand they could not ſo ſuddenly abandon *Brittany* without making the duke their enemy, and conſequently without giving up all the advantage that might be hoped for from the long abode the two earls had made in his dominions. Two ſuch ſtrong objections appeared unanſwerable; but they only ſerved to render the

evil

evil more ſenſible, if it really was one, of continuing longer at *Vannes*, out of a condition to appear in public, and proſecute their deſigns. The queen, who was really inclin'd to think this laſt part neceſſary, in order to make *Edward* ſleep on in that ſecurity, in which he had for many years believed himſelf ſo well eſtabliſhed, offered at the ſame time another propoſal, which ſeemed at firſt as abſurd, as ſhe made it appear to be wiſe and advantageous, when by the ſuperior lights of her prudence ſhe had rendered it not only plauſible, but almoſt infallible. She propoſed to communicate the whole enterprize to the duke, and to raiſe in him by this confidence a diſpoſition to favour it. What advantage did he receive from his engagements with *Edward*, that might not be offered him by a prince who aſpired to mount the ſame throne? It was with the nation, rather than with the king, that he ought to think of living on good terms; and it was of little importance to him by whom that ſtate was governed, when he was certain of reaping the ſame advantage from it for his own. But the queen's penetration went even much farther. She called to mind that the duke of *Brittany* had pretenſions to the earldom of *Richmond*, which had been formerly poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; and the ſingle hope of poſſeſſing it, ſeemed

ſeemed to be a bait that he could never reſiſt. She maintained, that he ought to make no difficulty of promiſing to make this reſtitution; and from the opinion ſhe conceived of her own advice, ſhe even dared to engage, that the duke would go ſo far as to furniſh the young earl with money, troops, and veſſels.

The force of her reaſons having brought over the whole council to approve her ſentiments, ſhe judged farther that the two earls ought not to appear in this new negotiation, before rhe duke had declared himſelf; and till *Vignoles*, whom ſhe thought a proper perſon to ſend to him on this occaſion, had diſcovered all the inclination ſhe foreſaw he would have, to take advantages from the troubles of his neighbours, to ſtrengthen or aggrandize himſelf. She would alſo have *Vignoles* make all theſe overtures to the duke in her name; and that it ſhould appear, that her motive only proceeded from the remains of the regard ſhe ſtill felt for the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and that this was kept up by the connections ſhe always preſerved in *England*. This manner of ſerving the earl of *Richmond*, and anſwering the confidence placed in her by his mother, ſatisfied *Margaret*'s generoſity, without caſting her into ſuch tumultuous agitations

tations, as would from thenceforward but ill ſuit either with her character or ſituation. And if we may believe one of her hiſtorians, thoſe who were able to penetrate into the bottom of her heart, admired that with that profound ſadneſs into which ſhe was continually plunged, ſhe was ſtill capable of the ſenſations of friendſhip.

Her counſels had all the ſucceſs ſhe had hoped they would receive from the addreſs of *Vignoles*. The duke of *Brittany* engaged almoſt without deliberating, to ſupport the earl's enterprize; and his readineſs to bind himſelf by the ſtrongeſt promiſes, ſeemed to ſhew, that on ſome freſh cauſe of diſcontent he had received from *Edward*, he only longed for an opportunlty of revenge. He was even ſorry that the execution was deferred to an uncertain time, and when on further explications he found that what he had hitherto regarded as only a ſimple project of the queen's, was already reſolved upon by the earl of *Richmond*, and all his partiſans, he complained of the conſtraint that made it neceſſary for him to diſſemble for ſome time the ſatisfaction he felt from it. The conſequences of this famous negotiation, which after long and dangerous viciſſitudes, ended at laſt in placing the earl of *Richmond* on the throne,

are foreign to the deſign of this work; but the hiſtorians who attribute the glory of it to the earl of *Pembroke*, are ignorant of their doing an injury to the queen.

While *Vignoles* was ſo happily employed at the duke's court, and the earl of *Richmond* waited at *Vannes* for the ſucceſs of his commiſſion, *Jeffreys* was more agreeably employed with *Catherine Lee*, whoſe merit and charms he had ſuddenly diſtinguiſhed. He had conceived a violent paſſion for her, which the queen had obſerved with pleaſure. This was an opportunity for eſtabliſhing a girl, who was very dear to her, in an advantageous manner. She did not ſtay till *Jeffreys* explained his ſentiments in order to propoſe a marriage, which ſhe reſolved to render beneficial to him by the favours ſhe would beſtow on *Catherine*, and which beſides ought to ſerve to cure the young *Lancaſtrian* of the remains of a fooliſh paſſion. *Catherine* ſeemed to accept them with ſubmiſſion; but *Lee* alone, who thought he ſhould loſe by this change the elevated rank with which the earl of *Richmond* had flattered him, grew inwardly uneaſy at his daughter's good fortune, and thought that his intereſt required that to preſerve ſome of his hopes, he ſhould give the young earl notice of the queen's deſigns.

Much

Much leſs than this was ſufficient to throw a lover into deſpair. The earl, forgetting all the precautions he had hitherto kept, quitted *Vannes* before his uncle's return, and obſerved ſo few in the circumſtances of his departure, that the *Engliſh* ambaſſador being informed of his flight, immediately uttered his complaints to the duke, and put him under an extreme embarraſſment to anſwer him. However, after having made an apology to the miniſter for an evil, which he had it not in his power to prevent, he ſecretly ſent to the queen to complain of the earl's imprudence, and to deſire the explication of a ſtep that was ſo oppoſite to all their conventions. The young prince was already at *Reculer* caſtle, where his reproaches and agitations were as troubleſome to *Margaret* as to *Lee*'s daughter. This princeſs, pretending to be ignorant of what had made him ſo abruptly leave *Vannes*, ordered him to be called into the deputy's preſence, and deſiring him to anſwer the duke's demand, ſhe hoped that his embarraſſment and ſhame, on account of this adventure, would be a leſſon to him of moderation and prudence. But far from being diſconcerted, the earl, carried away by the heat of youth, and the ardour of his paſſion, anſwered the deputy in an agreeable manner, that he was in love,

and

and that if the duke thought he had any reproach to make him, he might eaſily remove the cauſe, by giving a perſon over whom he ought to have ſome authority, a greater ſhare of ſenſibility. This anſwer produced a moſt ridiculous effect. The deputy, to whom the duke had not intruſted his orders without placing a perfect reliance on his fidelity, expreſſed to the queen an extreme eagerneſs to have ſome converſation with her in private, when taking up again the earl's diſcourſe, in the manner in which he underſtood it, he offered to make a diſcovery how far his maſter was inclined to favour the young prince's paſſion, that is to ſay, to propoſe his marriage with *Anne* of *Brittany*, his daughter, who was worthy of the firſt throne in the world, and whom the duke, from the favourable diſpoſition he was in with reſpect to the earl, would perhaps freely grant to the heir of *England*.

The queen inſtantly diſcovered his error; but finding his propoſal advantageous to the earl of *Richmond*, and even judging by the deſire ſhe ſaw the deputy expreſs of rendering himſelf neceſſary, that ſhe might leave to him the management of a project, of which he was in a manner the inventor, ſhe avoided ſaying any thing in her anſwer, that might be

be capable of undeceiving him. He therefore returned to his maſter, prepoſſeſſed with the opinion that the young prince was in love with the princeſs of *Brittany*, and that he left *Vannes* in order to conſult with the queen on the means of making the duke approve of his paſſion. On the other hand, *Margaret*, who had expreſſed herſelf to the deputy in ſuch a manner as to augment his zeal, and give him hopes of his deriving ſome advantage from this unexpected negotiation, drew two advantages from it, which ſhe ſtill augmented by her prudent management; the one, of making the earl more readily conſent to *Catherine Lee*'s marriage, by inſpiring him with ideas more worthy of his birth and pretenſions; the other, of engaging the duke to enter more firmly than ever into the earl's intereſt, from the opinion he conceived of the ſentiments of the young prince, with reſpect to his daughter and himſelf.

In the mean while ſhe ſtill ſtrove to conquer the earl's reſiſtance and complaints, in order to accuſtom him to look with tranquillity on *Jeffreys*'s happineſs. Having made it her ſtudy to render him maſter of himſelf, ſhe diſcovered that it is more difficult to govern a heart than a kingdom; and towards the end of her days ſhe made an eſſay of prudence

prudence that perhaps ſurpaſſed all her political ſtratagems. This was the laſt ſervice ſhe performed for *England*. By inſpiring this prince with the ſtrength to ſurmount a fooliſh paſſion, ſhe furniſhed him with thoſe grand principles, which during the reſt of his life rendered him chaſte and temperate; perfections, which joined to thoſe he had received from nature, rendered him one of the greateſt kings that ever wore the *Engliſh* crown. *Catherine Lee* had a greater ſhare in his eſteem than ſhe had ever had of his love. Beſides, the preſents which he took a pleaſure in loading her with, he promiſed, if heaven ſeconded his hopes, to render her fortune worthy of envy; and we find in the hiſtory of his reign, that he did not loſe the remembrance of this promiſe. *Margaret*, who had conceived a warm affection for this amiable girl, and who had no heirs ſo near or ſo avaritious as to oppoſe her kindneſs to her, gave her the beſt part of the remains of her fortune, without any other condition than of living with her till her death.

This law was a new favour; but *Catherine* was not long to enjoy it. The diſorder that had inſenſibly conſumed the queen, approached to its height, and from the interior parts, where it had for a long time extended its ravages,

vages, it viſibly communicated itſelf to the ſurface. Her blood, corrupted by ſo many violent agitations, turned to a poiſon that infected all the parts that it ought to have nouriſhed. Her ſkin, parched up, crumbled to duſt. Her ſtomach was ſhrunk, and her eyes as hollow as if they were ſunk into her head, loſt all the fire that had ſo long ſerved to interpret the great ſentiments of her ſoul. She nevertheleſs continued to have all her tenderneſs and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition till her laſt moments, which were employed in diſtributing the little wealth ſhe had left amongſt her domeſtics. She died on the 25th of *Auguſt*, 1482, at the caſtle of *Dampierre*, which belonged to *Vignoles*; but it is not ſaid from what motive ſhe had cauſed herſelf to be conducted thither.

Hiſtory informs us of no other circumſtances relating to her death; and even *Bodier*, in other places ſo fruitful of harangues and reflections, has here forborne, as if out of reſpect, to mingle the embelliſhments of his imagination with the ſimple recital of truth. He only aſſures us, like many other hiſtorians, that the queen died of grief; that is to

* He wrote the life of *Margaret* of *Anjou*, from whence I have drawn many particulars: but he was unacquainted with the *Engliſh* writers.

to ſay, that having languiſhed under a continual ſadneſs, ſhe ſunk at laſt under the impreſſions, which time had not the power to efface: for the twelve years which paſſed after the death of *Henry* VI. and of the prince of *Wales*, will not permit us to regard her's as proceeding from one of thoſe fits that ſuddenly exhauſt all the powers of nature.

Some hiſtorians ſay, that *Edward* was ſuſpected of having cauſed her to be poiſoned. Another accuſes the duke of *Glouceſter*. They could not be ignorant of her connections with the heir to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and both of them had an almoſt equal intereſt in depriving this prince of the advice and ſupport that appeared ſo formidable. But probability can never without proof be transformed into certain evidence. I even imagine that I have diſcovered the ſource of this falſe imputation, in an error that appears to me to be apparent. Thoſe who charge *Edward*, or the duke of *Glouceſter*, with having contributed to the queen's death, add, that they employed in this attempt a phyſician named *Bray*, who pretending to go to *France*, to improve himſelf by travelling, ſtopped for ſome time at *Anjou*. But we find, on the other hand, that after *Edward*'s death, and when the duke of *Glouceſter* had raiſed himſelf to the throne by

by the murder of his nephews, the counteſs of *Richmond*, agreeing with the duke of *Buckingham*, to recal her ſon from *Brittany*, and to marry him to the princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter to king *Edward*, made uſe of *Bray*, her phyſician, by whom ſhe carried on her correſpondence with that princeſs. For as a ſuſpicious uſurper might be exaſperated at the leaſt ſhadow, the counteſs and the duke made choice of a miniſter, whoſe fidelity and good ſenſe they were equally acquainted with. Why muſt we then here multiply phyſicians of the ſame name, and attribute to them ſuch different commiſſions? It ſeems very natural to me that the counteſs of *Richmond*, impatient perhaps at *Jeffreys*'s delay, had before ſent *Bray* to *Brittany* and *Anjou*, to remove the uneaſineſs ſhe might feel on this occaſion. Thus, far from being the inſtrument of *Edward*'s and his brother's rage, he appeared before the queen only under the character of her friend, and to contribute to her health rather than her death.

The loſs of a queen ſo reſpectable for her great qualities, and ſo worthy of compaſſion on account of her misfortunes, was only ſincerely lamented by her domeſtics, and perhaps by the young earl of *Richmond*, who ſoon felt what reaſon he had to regret his being de-

deprived of her advice and friendſhip. *Edward* began from that day to think himſelf well eſtabliſhed on his throne, though he had but little time left him to enjoy it. He nevertheleſs affected to do honour to the memory of his deceaſed enemy, and declaring that all his hatred was buried with her, gave a public mark of this reconciliation, by cauſing *Henry* VIth's body to be removed from *Chertſey* to *Weſtminſter-abbey*, where he cauſed a fine monument to be raiſed for him. His deſign was to bury *Margaret* in the ſame grave, and an order was ſent to his ambaſſador in *France*, to demand her body of *Louis* XI. but the execution of this deſign was interrupted by the news of his death, when *Louis* imagined that there was none left in *England*, who had an impatient deſire to have her ſent thither. He himſelf appeared as indifferent about her laſt remains, as he had been in his ſhewing but little ſenſibility on account of the embarraſſments in which ſhe was ſometimes involved during her life. This prince had no taſte for heroic merit. From the continual neceſſity he was under for money to ſupply the expences of his wars, he conſidered her penſion as a burthen. Beſides, a death that put the laſt ſeal to king *René*'s donation, could not give him a ſincere concern. Thus he had neglected *Margaret*

to

to ſuch a degree as ſometimes to leave her under the neceſſity of having recourſe to the generoſity of *Vignoles* for the neceſſaries of life. At *Anjou* ſhe was without the leaſt ſhadow of royal majeſty; for ſome *Engliſh* who were attached to her, compoſed her whole court, and made her pay dear for the remains of her grandeur, by the difficulty ſhe found to maintain them. However, in the midſt of her neceſſities, ſhe derived from her œconomy the means of removing the earl of *Richmond*'s wants, or of ſupplying at leaſt the deficiency of that moderate aſſiſtance he received from the counteſs his mother. She alſo took away whatever ſhe could with decency ſpare from her rank, to follow the cuſtom of an age, in which piety conſiſted in the liberalities beſtowed on churches and monaſteries. Her temper was nevertheleſs ſo little inclined to ſuperſtition, that in the whole courſe of her reign, ſhe never diſcovered a fondneſs for any of thoſe ſingular practices, which the ſovereigns of that age could no more avoid than their ſubjects, ſuch as vows, pilgrimages, and an extravagant fondneſs for relics and indulgencies; nor could the example even of *Edward*, who had ſometimes recourſe to theſe artifices to impoſe on the public, ever engage her to make uſe of the ſame arms againſt him. If

ſhe founded any eſtabliſhment in favour of religion, it was from views worthy of the object; and the vanity which commonly leads princes to build theſe pompous foundations, had ſo little weight with her, that ſhe even neglected to have the glory of them attributed to herſelf. Thus *Eton* college, which ſhe founded near *Windſor*, paſſed from its origin for the work of the king her huſband.

Some ſtrokes to be found in ſeveral hiſtorians will not add any thing to the idea conceived of her firmneſs and courage. However, though the difficulty of fixing to what time of her life they belong, has made me omit them in the courſe of my narration, I would rob her of nothing that may be thought to add to her glory. It is related, that during the long hatred ſhe bore to the earl of *Warwick*, having never known him well enough to form a particular eſteem for him, and her prejudice making her find great difficulty in believing what ſhe heard publiſhed of his merit, ſhe reſolved to find an opportunity of putting it to ſeveral kinds of proof. It is not ſaid whether this was during the war, or in an interval of peace. Having communicated her deſign to four of the braveſt lords of her court, ſhe ſent to inform the earl that five

five knights who had a difficulty to terminate with him, desired to see him at a place which she mentioned, and that to prevent his entertaining any suspicion of treachery, they left him the liberty of being accompanied by four of his friends. She did not doubt but that the earl, who was fond of extraordinary adventures, would eagerly repair to the place appointed. But she was there first armed from head to foot, as were also her four confidents. She pressed forwards to the earl with the vizor of her head-piece down, and taking him aside from the rest, confessed her sex, with all the flattery capable of persuading him, that an extravagant transport of love had made her take so strange a step to obtain his conversation. After having discovered his wit by this sportive discourse, she seemed to expect something more from his gallantry, and yielding to the proposal he made of going to a neighbouring wood, she conducted him to a place where she had posted ten men on foot who had received her orders. Scarce was he entered the wood when he found himself surrounded by these ten men, but in such a manner however, that being on horseback, he might easily have made his escape by flight. The queen having immediately pressed forwards with her horse, placed herself behind her men, whom she ordered in a loud voice

to revenge herſelf on that raſh and inconſiderate man. For ſome moments ſhe enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing the earl ſtand in ſuſpence, bnt whether this comedy was carried on with too little art, or whether he had really ſuch reſolution as to deſpiſe the danger, he appeared ſo well prepared as not to be diſcouraged by the ſuperiority of number, when the queen ſtopped her men, and continuing to keep her vizor down, "Go, earl, "cry'd ſhe, you are gallant, you are brave; "but you want prudence."

The ſame ſuperſtition which drew away both ſmall and great into an infinite number of practices, as oppoſite to reaſon as to true piety, had in this age given great credit to ſorcery and apparitions from the dead. There is ſome room to doubt whether thoſe, who then practiſed magic, were themſelves perſuaded of the truth of their operations, or whether ſome ſuperiority of knowledge and underſtanding, enabling them to ſport with the credulity of the public, they only thought to delude them by their impoſitions. But the fear of the ill they were capable of producing, or the hope of the ſervices that might be derived from them, made them conſidered as perſons of ſuch importance, that they were ſuffered to interfere in the greateſt affairs.

affairs. We have ſeen in this hiſtory to what this pretended magic expoſed the wife of a prince of the blood, who was the king's uncle, and his firſt miniſter; and the trial of the duke of *Clarence* would have furniſhed me with ſtrange particulars, if I had thought them worthy of finding a place in a noble and ſerious narration; but the leaſt inclination for theſe idle obſervations would not permit me to forget the duke of *Glouceſter*'s brother, who after having all his life-time indulged the practice of the blackeſt crimes, accuſed *Elizabeth*, his queen, Mrs. *Shore*, and the lord *Haſtings*, of having employed the powers of hell to dry up his arm. It is not ſurpriſing that in this general contagion of the imagination, queen *Margaret* had ſome ſhare of the ſame weakneſs; but this was neither in ſubſerviency to her hatred, nor from an expectation of thoſe horrible effects, that ſhewed as great a malignity in thoſe who dared to hope for them as hell itſelf could afford, from whence they were willing to owe the obligation. It is only related, that in the midſt of the inquietude into which ſhe was continually thrown, ſhe had recourſe to a monk named *Shaw*, who paſſed for a perſon extremely well verſed in theſe infernal ſecrets, and that having ſeen ſeveral operations performed, from which he pretended to penetrate

into the king's fortune, ſhe was ſo ſatisfied with his anſwers, that ſhe demanded that he would make the ſame diſcoveries with reſpect to her ſon's deſtiny. But as much as he flattered her on her huſband's account, ſo much did he ſeem to ſtrive to fill her with alarms for the prince of *Wales*, whoſe life he repreſented as a perpetual ſeries of the moſt dreadful misfortunes. The queen, who had voluntarily delivered herſelf up to what ſhe found conformable to her deſires, ſhewed leſs credulity on what gave ſuch a cruel ſhock to her tenderneſs: She would not rely on the authority of her oracle, and being willing to know what connection there was between the fate of her ſon, and the means by which he pretended to diſcover it, or on what foundation he built his pretences to ſuch extraordinary lights, her queſtion threw him into ſuch an embarraſſment, that ſhe had no difficulty in diſcovering the impoſture. Without cauſing him to be puniſhed, ſhe ſent him away with a contempt ſufficient to make him loſe the thought of his predictions having made the leaſt impreſſion of her; and ever after ſhe avoided ſhewing the leaſt mark of eſteem for thoſe who practiſed the ſame art. Some writers nevertheleſs pretend, that there was more policy than ſincerity in this conduct, and give as a proof of the impreſſion this

this adventure made on her mind, the timidity ſhe ſhewed on all occaſions wherein the prince's life appeared to her to be in danger. But in the midſt of ſo many revolutions, and inceſſantly at the eve of ſome new diſgrace, could the affection of a mother ſuffer her to be for a moment void of fear?

We are ignorant of the place to which the prince of *Wales*'s body was conveyed after the battle of *Tewkeſbury*. An hiſtorian aſſures us, that it was interred in a neighbouring abbey, without informing us where it was ſituated. However, it is certain by diverſe teſtimonies, that during the time of almoſt ſeven years which the queen ſpent in *France* before her death, ſhe conſtantly ſent every year one of her men into *England*, to pay both to this prince and to her huſband, the duties which ſhe thought her tenderneſs and piety required ſhould be offered at their tombs. It is ſurpriſing that *Edward*, in depoſiting *Henry*'s duſt in the collegiate church of *Weſtminſter*, ſeemed to forget that of the prince his ſon; and one cannot conceive that there could be any other reaſon for it, beſides the hope of juſtifying his barbarous treatment of this prince, by pretending not to acknowledge him for king *Henry*'s ſon. I have obſerved, that the duke of *York*, *Edward*'s fa-

ther, and all the partiſans of his family, had openly accuſed the queen of having been too intimate with the duke of *Somerſet*. But if this was *Edward*'s motive for refuſing him burial amongſt the princes of the royal houſe of the *Plantgenets*, we muſt admire the juſtice of heaven, which permitted his birth to be diſputed by his own brothers, and that the duke of *Glouceſter* ſhould at laſt make uſe of this pretence, for barbarouſly taking away the life and crown of his ſons. Among the articles on which the duke of *Clarence* was condemned to ſuffer death, he was reproached with 'having advanced, that the king was 'not ſon to the duke of *York*, but of another 'man whom their mother had received to 'her bed;' and *Edward*'s death having followed immediately that of *Margaret*'s, the duke of *Glouceſter* found no more certain method of uſurping the crown, than by reviving this accuſation, and openly charging his mother with adultery.

Thus *Margaret*'s revenge, which providence had reſerved to itſelf, took place ſoon after her death, and continued till all her enemies and perſecutors were extirpated. The duke of *Glouceſter* was the firſt inſtrument, and begun in a terrible manner. The king, his brother, dying, whether by poiſon, which he

he had given him, or whether, as other hiſtorians relate, of a drunken debauch, which ſuddenly deprived him of all his ſtrength, he haſtily got rid of all thoſe whom he knew to be his faithful ſervants, and conſequently enemies to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and the queen. Tho' theſe particulars do not neceſſarily belong to this hiſtory, they may properly be connected with it, from the concern many of theſe unhappy victims had in the queen's principal misfortunes. In the hiſtory of a particular perſon we intereſt ourſelves in all the perſonages we have ſeen brought on the ſtage; and whatever impreſſion they may make on us, curioſity is not ſatisfied, if any thing is wanting that ſeems neceſſary to give us the knowledge of their fate.

The lord *Haſtings*, for example, one of *Edward*'s principal ſupports, the executioner as well as the counſellor of his moſt bloody enterprizes, and what ought to redouble our concern, one of the prince of *Wales*'s murderers, ſeems to be here accountable, if I may be permitted to uſe this expreſſion, for the laſt circumſtance of his fortune and his life. The ſervice he had rendered the queen, and his love for Mrs. *Shore*, did not prevent his continuing conſtantly faithful to *Edward*. He ſwore to obſerve the ſame fidelity to this

prince's children, the eldeſt of whom was immediately acknowledged heir to the crown under the name of *Edward* V. Far from diſtruſting the duke of *Glouceſter*'s views, *Haſtings* united himſelf to him, to exclude the queen, *Edward*'s widow, whom he hated, from interfering in the public affairs; and having not a little contributed to cauſe the duke to be declared regent and protector of the kingdom, he ſeemed from thenceforward to limit his deſires to the poſſeſſion of Mrs. *Shore*, whom he openly entertained after the king's death. In the mean while the duke, who longed to be ſeated on the throne, and who perceived the neceſſity there was for engaging ſo formidable a perſon in his intereſt, or for bringing about his deſtruction, got one of his friends to endeavour to bring him over to ſecond his deſign; but finding that he was not to be ſhaken, and that he reſolved to continue faithful to his duty, he thought of nothing but how to get rid of him. I do but tranſlate the hiſtory of this event, which is intereſting in all its particulars.

The duke cauſed the council to be aſſembled at the Tower, under the pretence of regulating the ceremonies of the king's coronation. He went thither at nine in the morning with a gay countenance, careſſing every

every one with an air as free as if his mind had not been disturbed by the least embarrassment. After he had been there some moments, he went out, desiring the lords of the council to continue their deliberations in his absence; but about an hour after returned with a very different look, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and giving a thousand marks of a violent agitation. He continued some time without speaking, and at last breaking silence, 'My lords, said he, 'bluntly, in what manner do you think those 'who have conspired against my life ought 'to be treated?' They were some time without reply, as if fear had froze all who heard him; but the lord *Hastings* at last breaking silence, said, that they who had been guilty of so great a crime, deserved to be punished as traitors? 'It is, replied the duke, my 'sorceress of a sister, with her accomplices.' This declaration was like a clap of thunder to some of the members of the council, who had always been attached to the queen, and who feared to be involved in the duke's hatred: but *Hastings*, who was known to be that princess's particular enemy, could not be suspected of having the least communication with her. The protector lifted up his sleeve, and letting the council see his left arm, which was entirely withered, 'See, cried he, what

'this ſorcereſs, and the wretched *Shore* have 'done by their witchcrafts. They have made 'my arm juſt as you ſee it; and if their in-'famous plots had not been diſcovered by 'the interpoſition of heaven, they would 'ſoon have reduced my whole body to the 'ſame ſtate.'

The whole council, who were not ignorant that the duke's arm had been withered for a long time, remained in an extreme ſurprize. They knew beſides that the queen had a great averſion to Mrs. *Shore*, and though ſhe could have been able to perform the attempt for which ſhe was accuſed, it was not probable that ſhe would have choſe her for her confidant. *Haſtings*, with a warm emotion occaſioned by his regard for his miſtreſs, anſwered with ſome marks of doubt, that if ſhe had been capable of ſo black an action, ſhe doubtleſs deſerved a ſevere puniſhment. 'What, reply'd the protector, with a new 'heat, do you anſwer me with your If's, as 'if I had invented this accuſation myſelf? 'I maintain, that they have conſpired my 'death, and that you yourſelf are their ac-'complice.' At finiſhing this terrible ſpeech, he ſtruck with his fiſt twice on the table, and there immediately entered the room a troop of armed men. The duke then addreſſing

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himſelf to the lord *Haſtings*, ſaid, 'I arreſt 'thee for the crime of high treaſon.' 'Who, 'me, my lord, cried *Haſtings*.' 'Yes, thee, 'traitor,' replied the duke; and making a ſign to his men to ſeize him, ſcarce would he allow him time to confeſs to the firſt prieſt he met with. He did not even ſtay for the building a ſcaffold; but cauſing him to be laid on a large beam that was in the parade in the Tower, ordered his head to be cut off in his preſence.

Haſtings was the chief of one of the beſt families in *England*. He was brave, prudent, and faithful: but he had a ferocity in his temper, that rendered him terrible even to his friends themſelves, who ſhould have made choice of a virtuous man for the defender of a good cauſe.

The earl of *Rivers*, queen *Elizabeth*'s brother, and the lord *Gray*, one of her children by her firſt marriage, were beheaded on different pretences. This princeſs, whom hiſtory reproaches with no other crime than the advantages ſhe received from the acts of violence committed by her party, was involved in the bittereſt affliction by having the two princes her ſons torn from her arms; by her learning ſoon after that they had been murdered in the

Tower,

Tower; and by the perſonal misfortunes with which ſhe was loaded during the reſt of her days. Having taken ſanctuary in *Weſtminſter-abbey*, as ſoon as the duke had ſeized the young king, the archbiſhop of *York*, who followed her into this place of refuge, found her in a ſtate worthy of compaſſion, ſitting on the floor, deploring her fate and that of her children: in ſhort, beginning a courſe of grief that was to laſt as long as her life. The duke of *Glouceſter* being maſter of the two princes, gave orders to *Blackenbury*, governor of the Tower, to deliver him from thoſe two competitors; but that officer, though devoted to his ſervice, not being able to reſolve on committing ſo barbarous an action, the duke ſent him an order ſigned with his own hand, to give to the bearer for one night only, the keys and the government of the tower. *Brackenbury* not daring to refuſe his obedience, *Tyrrel*, who was the choſen miniſter, brought his agents into the Tower in the evening; and the following night, when all were aſleep, murdered the two young princes in their bed, and cauſed them to be interred under a ſmall ſtair-caſe. In 1674 when ſome reparations were making in this apartment, the bones of children were found, which were taken for thoſe of *Edward* V. and the duke of *York*, and from this ſuppoſition *Charles* II. who then

then ſat on the throne, cauſed them to be put in a marble urn, and depoſited amongſt the tombs in the collegiate church of *Weſtminſter*. It may be imagined that *Elizabeth* received comfort under ſo cruel a misfortune from her eldeſt daughter's being raiſed to the throne on her marrying the earl of *Richmond*; but ſhe had ſo ſmall a ſhare in this happy revolution, that a little after ſhe ſhut herſelf in the monaſtery at *Bermondſey*, which ſerved her for a priſon during the reſt of her days.

The duke of *Glouceſter*'s thirſt for blood was only redoubled after his nephew's death. As he believed that his intereſt required that he ſhould ſucceſſively get rid of all his brother's creatures, his blows ſeemed always as if they were directed by heaven to fall on the deſtroyers of the houſe of *Lancaſter*. The dutcheſs of *Exeter*, that cruel wife, who had treated her huſband with ſuch ſeverity, and who had, not without reaſon, been ſuſpected of having contributed to his death, could not eſcape the effects of her brother's madneſs. Sir *Thomas de St. Leger*, who from an irregular paſſion had married her after her ſeparation, periſhed before her eyes by the hands of the hangman; and tho' a regard to her ſex ſaved her from puniſhment, ſhe found herſelf reduced to ſo miſerable a ſituation,

tion, that ſhe choſe to retire voluntarily to a convent. Soon the barbarous duke excited by new terrors, took a larger career in order to obtain ſatisfaction. He created Sir *Ralph Aſhton* vice-conſtable, a man of as ſanguinary a diſpoſition as his own; and having inveſted him with a power ſo extenſive that he could judge without appeal, and cauſe to be executed on the ſpot all thoſe whom he ſhould ſuſpect to have any ill intention againſt the government, he ſent him into ſeveral counties with ſecret orders, that coſt the lives of a number of illuſtrious perſons. Hiſtorians relate, that *Aſhton* having reſolved to deſtroy one of the gentlemen of the greateſt diſtinction in *Devonſhire*, went to pay him a viſit, as if he only thought of ſtopping to take ſome refreſhment on the road. The terror which the very report of his commiſſion ſpread before him, diſpoſed every one to receive him with as much reſpect as they would have done the king's perſon. The gentleman ſpared nothing in order to give him a noble entertainment, and ſuſpecting nothing, endeavoured to ſhew, by his obliging behaviour, that he regarded his viſit as a favour: But after the dinner, which was very ſumptuous, *Aſhton* propoſed their taking a walk into the neighbouring fields. He had given his men orders, which they had had time to execute.

A very high gibbet, which was raiſed at a ſmall diſtance from the houſe, ſeeming to give ſome ſurprize to the gentleman who had entertained him, he aſked him if he could gueſs who it was deſigned for? The gentleman having ſimply anſwered that he could not tell: 'It is for you,' replied *Aſhton*; and immediately ordered his attendants to hang him upon it. I ſhould wander from my deſign, was I to ſtop too long at theſe fatal executions.

But I do not know what name I ought to give to the dreadful end of an unhappy princeſs, who has not appeared either ſo guilty as to have deſerved her puniſhment, nor ſo innocent as to inſpire the ſame compaſſion that we could not in other circumſtances have refuſed her. I am ſpeaking of *Anne Nevil*, widow to the prince of *Wales*, the ſon of *Henry* and *Margaret*, and married, as the reader cannot have forgotten, to the murderer of her huſband, to the deſtroyer of an unhappy family that was become her own, in ſhort, to the cruel prince, the effects of whoſe frenzy I here relate. He had never had ſuch a regard for her as led him to form a true judgment of the motive which induced him to marry her. However, on his uſurping the throne under the title of *Richard* III.

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he had cauſed her to be crowned with him, and the ſatisfaction of being a queen, no doubt, comforted her for the numberleſs misfortunes that led to ſo happy an end. But it ſtruck into the uſurper's mind, that in order to ſecure his power he ought to have married the princeſs *Elizabeth*, daughter and heireſs to the late king, his brother, and this was enough to give birth to the deſign of murdering his wife. He would have had no occaſion to make uſe of poiſon, if the ſeverity of his treatment and diſcourſe had been ſufficient: But not being able to ſucceed by his contempt, which only threw her into a conſumption, which gave him no hope of her ſpeedy death, he at laſt reſolved to poiſon her. This was the leaſt ſucceſsful of all his crimes; *Elizabeth* rejected the crown with horror when preſented by ſo deteſtable a hand. Having but one ſon, whom he had already created prince of *Wales*, he had the mortification to ſee him die of a precipitate illneſs; and during the reſt of his reign, which laſted but about two years, he endeavoured in vain to conquer the reluctance ſhewn by *Edward*'s daughter.

But ſo many ſingular puniſhments would not have been a ſufficient juſtification of providence, if he who had been choſen for the ex-

execution of the divine vengeance, and who had only multiplied his own crimes, while he ſerved as the miniſter of juſtice, had himſelf eſcaped the bloody ſentence that ſeemed to have paſſed againſt all the perſecutors of *Henry* and *Margaret*. He had given tranquility to his mind by the blood which he ſpilt, and when he afterwards diſcovered the duke of *Buckingham*'s projects in favour of the earl of *Richmond*, he thought he had cut off the ſtream of rebellion by the duke's death, and began to flatter himſelf that his enemies from thenceforward wanting either reſolution or power, he had nothing to do but to enjoy the pleaſure of having caſt them down. In the mean while the earl of *Richmond*, whoſe hopes were daily encreaſed by the intrigues of the counteſs his mother, and even of *Edward*'s widow, whoſe eldeſt daughter he had agreed to marry on his mounting the throne, made a deſcent on the coaſt of *Wales* with greater ſucceſs than he had already attempted on the coaſt of *Cornwall*, which had coſt the duke of *Buckingham* his life. This part of *England* being filled with thoſe of his party, he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous army, with which he advanced even into the centre of the kingdom. *Stanley*, who had married his mother, did not heſitate about declaring for him,

him, at the hazard of having his only ſon murdered, whom the uſurper had kept as a pledge of his fidelity. The order was given, and this was *Richard*'s laſt crime; for the furious actions which ſignalized his deſpair at the battle of *Boſworth*, and the multitude of enemies he killed with his own hand, can only give us an high idea of his courage. If he had joined to it an equal conduct, he would perhaps have taken away all the earl of *Richmond*'s hopes, and even his life too, which was attacked with incredible reſolution by this terrible enemy. *Richard* having perceived the earl, ruſhed upon the enemy in order to meet him. In vain did many lords ſucceſſively attempt to put a ſtop to his impetuoſity. After having overthrown a great number, he ſlew Sir *William Brandon*, who bore the earl's ſtandard, and who put himſelf before him in order to cover him. Sir *John Cheyney* having taken *Brandon*'s place was immediately overthrown by a blow with his lance. The earl of *Richmond* had not the reproach of avoiding the combat; but in the moment when the two rivals were going with their own hands to decide their quarrel, the lord *Stanley*, who ſought by an important ſervice to deſerve to have all the miſchief he had brought on the houſe of *Lancaſter* forgotten, took *Richard*'s army in the flank, and

and preſſed his attack with ſuch impetuoſity, that he threw it into a diſorder that could not be repaired. The confuſion, which this motion ſuddenly produced, ſeparated the two princes in ſpite of themſelves; and *Richard*, who was too certain of his defeat, not being able to reſolve either to fly, or to run the hazard of falling into the conqueror's hands, threw himſelf with a terrible cry into the midſt of his enemies, where he ſoon found the death he ſeemed to ſeek for.

He had put on his crown when arming for the battle, with the ſole deſign of being better known, and to put his troops in mind that they were fighting for him. It was found by a ſoldier, who gave it to *Stanley*, and this lord going immediately to the earl of *Richmond*, put it on his head, congratulating him on his victory, and giving him the title of king. The uſurper's body was found amongſt the dead, naked, bloody, and covered with duſt. In this condition it was laid acroſs a horſe's back, with the head hanging down on one ſide, and the feet on the other, to be carried to *Leiceſter*, where it was buried without the leaſt ceremony, after its having ſerved for two or three days as a ſpectacle to the populace.

Aſhton

Aſhton and *Cateſby*, the two moſt faithful miniſters of his injuſtice and cruelties, were made priſoners as a kind of confirmation of the care of providence, in not ſuffering the leaſt remains of *Margaret*'s enemies to eſcape. They were executed two days after, though the new king had no more reaſon for treating them with this rigour, than for ſparing a great number of other priſoners whom he choſe to pardon. And the confeſſion made by *Cateſby* when dying, is not a leſs proof of the protection granted by heaven to the reſtorer of the houſe of *Lancaſter*. This perfidious wretch, who had no otherwiſe merited *Richard*'s confidence, than by his betraying the moſt worthy men in the kingdom, inceſſantly demanded in the ſhort interval they had granted him before his execution, the liberty of a moment's diſcourſe with the earl of *Richmond*, under the pretence that having for ſome time been inveſted with the adminiſtration of affairs, he had ſome important diſcoveries to make to the new king. Thoſe who judged the moſt favourably of his deſigns conſidered this as a plot he had laid to preſerve his life; and the earl in rejecting his offers was pleaſed to reply, that he would have nothing to do with a truth that came to him from ſo foul a channel. But *Cateſby* was no

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ſooner aſſured by this anſwer, that he had nothing to hope for from the clemency of the conqueror than he drew a poniard, which he had found means to conceal under his cloaths, and throwing it to the ground, with a furious diſdain, 'Let him thank fortune, ſaid he, 'ſpeaking of the earl, for having ſerved 'him to the laſt; for if he had granted 'what I deſired, his puniſhment would have 'preceded my own.'

But that ſpeedy and ſevere vengeance, which ſucceſſively overwhelmed all *Margaret*'s enemies, was no more, as I have many times remarked, than a kind of reparation, which the juſtice of heaven made to the memory of this great queen, or a remarkable juſtification of the dealings of providence towards her. *Margaret* already ſlept in the tomb of her fathers, and tho' ſhe had been a witneſs of the chaſtiſement of her perſecutors, the ſentiments of religion with which ſhe was filled during the laſt years of her life, would have let her ſee nothing in theſe terrible cataſtrophes, but examples of human miſery, which in a heart cured of all its paſſions, would have infallibly produced more pity than joy. King *René*, during his abode in *Anjou*, had cauſed a marble tomb to be built in the cathedral there, whither his body

body was carried from *Provence*. His daughter was placed near him, and their aſhes are ſtill preſerved in this monument.

The pains I have taken to procure other informations relating to the laſt years of the queen, and the circumſtances of her abode in *Anjou*, have afforded me but little light. We find amongſt the *Engliſh* only the hiſtorical facts I have related, which do not ſo properly relate to the particular life of *Margaret*, as to their own affairs. *Angers* and *Saumur*, from whence I hoped to have diſcovered ſome traces of a time not very remote, have not even furniſhed me with any explications on the queen's habitual abode. However, if we add to the ſeveral reaſons given in the laſt part of this work, ſome enquiries, for which I am obliged to the politeneſs and good offices of Mr. *du Fronchay*, ſeneſchal and lieutenant-general of the ſeneſchalſhip of *Saumur*, we ſhall be certain of her abode at the caſtle of *Reculee*, in the neighbourhood of *Angers*. The king, her father bought this eſtate of *Peter d'Allion* on the 10th of *June*, 1467, for the ſum of two hundred and thirteen livres fifteen ſols. He there built a kind of hermitage on the river *Maine*, where he ſometimes took the diverſion of fiſhing. Amidſt the views that led

led *Margaret* to *Anjou*, it appears natural that ſhe ſhould chuſe for her retreat a place conſecrated by the innocent employments of her father, and the deſcription of which proves its correſpondence with the inclination her misfortunes had created for the repoſe of ſolitude. The ſtate in which the caſtle of *Reculée* is at preſent, does not leſſen the belief of its making a better figure in the fifteenth century. It is now changed to a tavern, with the ſign of the crowned Mullet; but according to Mr. *Tronchay*'s memoirs, there ſtill remains there ſome of *René*'s pictures. In ſhort, the bad ſtate of the caſtle cannot perſuade us that it could not be inhabited by *Margaret*, ſince it is certain that ſhe there received *Louis* XIth's miniſters, who came to demand a new confirmation of her father's teſtament. King *René*'s hermitage is at this day a convent of capuchins.

The caſtle of *Dampierre*, where *Margaret* died, belonged to *Francis de la Vignole*, lord of *Morains*, whom, after ſome *Engliſh* writers, I have improperly named *Vignole*. In this pariſh he poſſeſſed the fiefs of *Morains* and *Parois*, to the firſt of which the lordſhip belongs. What is now left of the caſtle of *Dampierre* is only ſome old ruinous houſes, in which are ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed the arms

of ſeveral dukes of *Anjou*, to whom it probably firſt belonged. We are ignorant what poſt *Vignole* was poſſeſſed of in king *René*'s houſe; but the confidence which led this prince, when dying, to entruſt him with the care of his daughter, ought to give us a high opinion of his rank and merit. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, that *Margaret* lived ſo familiarly with a man of this character, as to be, while in his houſe, under the phyſician's hands for a diſtemper that brought her to her tomb.

This princeſs's picture is to be ſeen in a window of the cordeliers church at *Angers*, diſtinguiſhed probably by her name or her arms; ſince they have not informed me what proof they have that it is ſhe who is repreſented. M. *Bernard de Montfaucon* has cauſed a copy of it to be engraved and inſerted in his monuments of the *French* monarchy; and one may there diſcover that beauty that was the admiration of her age. But ſo many heroic virtues, whoſe memory I have revived, ought to be a much more glorious recommendation of *Margaret* of *Anjou* to the notice of poſterity.

F I, N I S.